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AU071631 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Apr 81 pp 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8

[BCP Central Committee accountability report to the 12th BCP Congress on the party's forthcoming tasks, delivered by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary, to the opening session of the 12th congress on 31 March 1981--capitalized passages printed in boldface]

[Text] Dear comrade delegates; esteemed guests;

Five years have elapsed since the 11th BCP Congress. Now we can declare from the rostrum of the 12th BCP Congress: These have been fruitful years--years full of strenuous efforts and creative spirit, years of daring and perseverance, years throughout which our people--guided by their party--accomplished a broad step forward in building the developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Thanks to a happy coincidence the 12th BCP Congress is taking place in a year of glorious anniversaries. In 1981 we are celebrating the 1,300th jubilee of the foundation of the Bulgarian state, the 90th anniversary of the party's creation and the 25th anniversary of the historical Central Committee April plenum. That is why, along with our gratification over the deeds accomplished during the 5-year plan period that has elapsed, this congress hall is filled with a feeling of joyful festivity and happy emotion because of the anniversaries of these events.

At the same time, along with the voice of the 12th BCP Congress, which is in session in this hall, we will hear the voice and the echo of the wisest and most authoritative voice of our time, which will join the voice of our party. This is the voice of the glorious Leninist party--the voice that already resounded with such powerful and noble strength from the rostrum of the CPSU's 26th Congress. (prolonged applause)

The 12th BCP Congress is the eighth party congress devoted to socialist construction in our motherland. Each of the previous congresses discussed and responded to the problems and tasks of our social development. Each of those congresses marked a new, higher climax in the party's and people's struggle for socialism and communism. That is why the communists and our entire people are awaiting the work of the 12th BCP Congress with tremendous interest and with confidence.

In noting this, I would like, in the beginning of the report, to point out with a feeling of filial pride that our people, who are politically mature and loyal to communism did not merely await the 12th BCP Congress. Our people most actively participated in the discussion of the problems and tasks which the party and life itself put on the agenda of the congress. The debates held during the accountability-election conferences, the political and working activities of the people throughout the months preceeding the congress and the broad discussion, as well as numerous proposals submitted on the draft theses for the 12th congress--all these things once more and most categorically demonstrated the cohesion of the communist ranks, the party's and people's indestructible unity, as well as their infinite loyalty to the Leninist April line and their readiness to implement this party line into practical deeds. (stormy applause)

There is no doubt whatsoever, that the communists' and the people's expectations will be justified. The 12th BCP Congress will discuss in a thorough and businesslike manner the exceptionally important tasks, tasks of a wide scope and deep significance, that are facing the party and country, and it will open bright new prospects for labor and creative spirit, for the sake of man, to the people's benefit, for the triumph of socialism and communism in our beloved motherland, which is at the threshold of its 14th century of existence. (stormy and prolonged applause)

I. Chief Results of the Party's Activities in Implementing the Party Program and Tasks of the 5-Year Plan Period

Comrades,

The first decade has elapsed since the adoption of the party program on building a developed socialist society. It is natural that the 12th BCP Congress should assess the implementation of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, as well as the main results of our work and struggle to implement the projects mapped out by the party program.

THE EVALUATION BY THE BCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LAST DECADE IS POSITIVE. Great successes have been achieved in industry, in agriculture, in construction and in transport, as well as in trade, culture, and education--in all sectors of public life. The outlook of our socialist motherland has changed. Our country has achieved new peaks in its development.

As to the period elapsed between the 10th and the 12th BCP Congresses, national income has increased more than twice. The accelerated increase of our national income has enabled us to allocate the impressive figure of 52 billion leva for capital investments. This is 1.6 times higher than the capital investments made throughout the entire first five 5-year plan periods. The country's basic funds increased from 33 billion leva in 1970 to approximately 77 billion leva by the end of 1980, or to put it another way, they have more than doubled.

We can now declare with legitimate, patriotic pride, that under the party's leadership and thanks to the selfless efforts of millions of working people, we marked the first decade that has elapsed since the adoption of the BCP program by building another, new second Bulgaria--figuratively speaking--and, we are now entering the second decade with so to speak, two Bulgarias. (stormy and prolonged applause)

The results achieved during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period which proceeded guided by the slogan--"effectiveness and quality, quality and effectiveness,"--were of particular importance for the aforementioned successes. This slogan was a guideline and a program of action at the same time. The national income obtained, which is nearly 24 billion leva higher than the one of the Sixth 5-Year Plan period, is a concentrated expression of the achievements attained during the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. This increase has been almost entirely achieved through increased social productivity. Each percentage of this increase corresponds to an absolute increase of approximately 150 million leva, as against 106 million leva obtained during the Sixth 5-Year Plan period. During the last 5 years, new funds worth approximately 9 billion leva more than those of the Sixth 5-Year Plan period have been commissioned.

It was by no means easy to achieve all this. The situation of crisis reigning in the West exerted its negative effect upon our national economy. Our economy has to adapt itself to the yearly increasing prices on the international markets. Unfavorable climatic conditions and natural disasters accompanied almost all the 5 years of this period. Shortcomings were also committed by the subjective factor. However, regardless of the complication of international conditions, regardless of objective difficulties and regardless of the subjective shortcomings and mistakes SOCIALIST BULGARIA HAS NEVER LIVED THROUGH SUCH A FRUITFUL PERIOD IN ITS SOCIOECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, AS THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW--THE SEVENTH 5-YEAR PLAN PERIOD. (stormy applause)

The results obtained in the basic branch of our national economy--in the industrial sector--are particularly gratifying for the Seventh 5-Year Plan period. The industrial production obtained in 1980 is approximately 35 percent higher than that obtained in 1975. The upsurge of our industrial sector was accompanied by further progressive changes in the production structure. Electronics and the electrotechnical industry, instrument building, robotics, hydraulics, heavy-machine building, transportation machine-building, and so forth were highly developed. In just 3 days industry produces as much as it produced throughout the entire year of 1939. (prolonged applause)

The application of the economic approach in agriculture, the preserving efforts of the agricultural laborers and of the entire people have produced satisfactory results. As compared to the Sixth 5-Year Plan period, grain production has increased by approximately 600,000 tons, meat production has increased by 148,000 tons and milk production has increased by 300,000 tons, etc. Life has categorically confirmed the correctness of the April plenum policy. Today we have one of the most highly concentrated and most specialized agricultural sectors in the world.

The Central Committee reports with gratification to the congress about the tremendous work accomplished in expanding and intensifying our country's participation in the international division of labor. Our international relations with CEMA member-countries are successfully developing on a long-term basis. The comprehensive drawing closer together between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR is expanding. The contacts between our country and the developed capitalist states, and particularly with the developing countries are also expanding. It is enough to note that in 1980 our exchange of goods increased 1.8 times, compared to 1975, and approximately 4 times as compared to 1970.

Comrades, we cannot help but feel legitimate pride, and this applies to every Bulgarian citizen, about the fact that our country--which in the size of its territory takes 102d place in the world and as to its population takes 61st place in the world—still takes first place in per capita production of electric and internal combustion vehicles, calcined soda, cigarettes and tobacco, and that it takes one of the first places in the Balkans in the production of electronic goods. Bulgaria takes first place in per capita production of electric power, iron ore, coke, brown coal and lignite, artificial and synthetic fibers, wheat, sunflower seeds, sugar and many other products. (applause)

THE INCREASED ECONOMIC POTENTIAL, THE POSITIVE CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION, OUR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR--ALL THESE THINGS HAVE BECOME A SOLID BASIS FOR IMPLEMENTING THE PARTY'S DECEMBER PROGRAM AND IMPROVING THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARD.

One of the greatest achievements in implementing this program is the considerable increase of the population's purchasing power and the better satisfaction of the people's need for high quality goods and public services. Thus, for example, the real income of the population increased from 897 leva in 1970 to 1,336 leva in 1980. For the same period retail turnover increased 1.7 times and attained 12 billion leva. Per capita social consumption funds have increased from 285 leva in 1970 to 619 leva in 1980. The basic part of the means from these funds was allocated to develop health protection, education, culture and social security.

Our people's diet is more varied and more abundant today. Per capita consumption of basic foodstuffs has increased in the following order: meat and meat products--by 21 kilograms; milk consumption--by 44 liters; egg consumption--by 81 units; etc. A constantly increasing part of income is allocated for the purchase of durable consumer goods, such as construction and equipment of housing units, as well as goods for cultural needs.

Housing construction played an important role in the party's social policy during the period under review. During the Seventh 5-Year Plan Period, 352,000 housing units were built, while in the last 10 years the working people in our country were provided with over 600,000 new homes. As a matter of fact, the housing fund in towns and villages has been already completely innovated.

Unrelenting care has been devoted to improving the people's health protection. The number of beds in hospitals and sanitariums have increased. The opportunities for fully organized recreation for all working peoples has also considerably increased.

Women, mothers, the young generation and old people are surrounded with great care by our entire society. Within the last decade alone children's establishments with 148,000 places have been built in our country. Pensions for old people and for invalids have increased. Our state is allocating nearly 1.5 billion leva to insure the lives of pensioners.

National education is developing at accelerated rates of speed. During the last decade 409,000 specialists were trained in vocational-technical schools and 607,000 young specialists were trained in higher educational institutions and secondary specialized schools.

Our socialist culture has reached new successes during the period under review. Never before have the people had such broad access to the values of culture and arts. Many successes have been achieved by our scientists and artists, by our cultural figures, and by people who with their achievements, are making Bulgaria famous all over the world.

These are some of the most characteristic features of our social policy. Nothing but the eloquent language of facts demonstrates that one demand is placed at the center of the party's multifaceted work and struggle. There is always this one demand: "Every-- thing for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man!" (prolonged applause). Real socialism has convincingly proved its advantages on the territory of Bulgaria.

Comrades,

During the period that followed the adoption of the party program two basic forms of SOCIALIST PROPERTY--state-owned property and cooperative property--are drawing closer together at accelerated rates of speed and are merging into one, united nationwide property. Concentration, specialization and production sharing are exerting a certain influence upon this process and the implemented horizontal and vertical integration of agricultural production, as well as its organization on the basis of agro-industrial complexes, in particular, are of great importance in this connection.

Thanks to these circumstances a principle of equality in determining and distributing the incomes of the working people has been established in our comprehensive social production sector. Quality was achieved in the social assets of the agricultural laborers, the industrial workers and the intelligentsia in connection with recreation, pensions, labor accidents, maternity care, etc. This is a tremendous, historical achievement of the BCP. (prolonged applause)

Along with qualitative changes in public property, private property continued to increase; the private, auxiliary economy continues to develop.

The successful drawing closer together and merging of the two basic forms of socialist property increased the degree of maturity in DISTRIBUTION RELATIONS. Along with the application of the new economic approach and of the new economic mechanism, these relations are being better adapted to the demands of the law of distribution according to the quality and quantity of work.

The further gradual shaping of the SOCIAL UNIFORMITY (EDNORODNOST) of our society represents an important factor in developing socialist social relations during the period under review. Essential changes have occurred in the qualitative composition of the workers class. Along with the development of the fixed branches of production which are exponents of technical progress, the number and relative share of highly qualified workers have increased. New working professions, formerly unknown in our country, have developed.

Changes have also occurred in the social characteristic features of agricultural laborers. The great changes which have occurred in the organization of socialist production and in the larger-scale application of scientific and technical achievements in the agricultural sector are accompanied by a considerable increase of their agro-technical and general cultural standards. The mechanic equipment operator has become a basic figure in our agricultural sector.

That part of the socialist intelligentsia which is directly involved in the leadership of production has rapidly increased in number. Those who are engaged in the research and application of scientific-technical achievements and in applying frontranking experience in practical work are becoming increasingly numerous.

All these progressive changes in the structure of our workers class, our agricultural laborers and intelligentsia are contributing to the gradual elimination of differences among them, to the creation of relatively equal working and living conditions for all working people.

During the period under review SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY HAS EXPANDED AND INCREASINGLY STRENGTHENED. This was expressed in the enhancement of the political and social activities of working people, in their broad participation in administration, in the solution of the problems of economic construction and in the intellectual development of our society.

The economic and cultural achievements, the improvement of the people's living standard and the development of the individual personality have contributed to FURTHER CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE.

At the present stage of development, more than ever, socialist achievements guarantee every citizen not only the right to work, recreation, education and medical treatment free of charge, but also the use of all cultural assets such as social security, labor protection, child care and maternity care, as well as a humanitarian approach of the state and the collective toward the individual, marked by feelings of respect and trust. The people's personal security, their confidence in their own future and in their children's future,--all these things are among the greatest achievements of real socialism and form its unique advantage over capitalism. (applause)

THE MAIN CONCLUSION DRAWN FROM THE REVIEW OF ALL OUR ACHIEVEMENTS DURING THE LAST DECADE IS THE FACT THAT OUR PEOPLE, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE BCP, ARE SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTING THE PARTY PROGRAM TO BUILD A DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA. THIS WAS A DECADE DURING WHICH THE ELEMENTS OF MATURE SOCIALISM HAVE INCREASINGLY DEVELOPED IN THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SECTORS, AS WELL AS IN THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE.

Permit me, comrades, from the high rostrum of the 12th BCP Congress, to express to all communists, united agrarians and non-party citizens, to the workers class and agricultural laborers, to the leading cadres, to the scientists and cultural workers, to our educational workers, to the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army, to the organs of the Ministry of Interior, and to our entire people, allow me to express to all of you the most sincere gratitude for your selfless efforts devoted to implementing the programmatic projects and decisions of the 11th BCP Congress. (stormy and prolonged applause)

Of course, in drawing the picture of our successes, the BCP Central Committee does not close its eyes to the existing difficulties and the unresolved questions. The struggle against difficulties and shortcomings, against shortcomings of a subjective character, in particular, is the permanent concern and permanent topic of our party's life. It is sufficient just to recall the frank and unflattering talk at the July plenum of the BCP Central Committee in 1976, and the National Party Conference held in 1978, and the memorandum to the BCP Central Committee Politburo in 1980, which was thoroughly discussed at the November plenum and throughout the party. An open discussion about our shortcomings and unresolved problems also took place during the accountability election campaign and throughout all preparations for the congress. Obviously, these problems will be discussed at this congress too.

The BCP Central Committee and the other party leading bodies are taking measures to overcome shortcomings and to settle unresolved problems rapidly. We attach great importance to frank discussions about shortcomings and mistakes that have occurred, because only such a discussion helps to better reveal the reasons for the shortcomings, and because such a discussion mobilizes the entire party and involves all working people in the struggle against shortcomings.

However, what is the main thing about all this?

The main thing, the decisive factor, is the fact that the difficulties and the shortcomings being allowed to occur are being successfully overcome and remain behind us in our development. Our achievements, however, stay with us. Bulgaria of 1980 remains a country, which, in its economic power, is equal to two Bulgarias of 1970. (stormy applause). What remains are the opportunities of this country, its achievements, with which we are entering the second decade of struggle to implement the program adopted by our glorious BCP! (prolonged applause)

Comrades,

The BCP Central Committee is submitting the "Theses of the 12th BCP Congress on the Party's Work for the Social, Economic and Cultural Development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria during the period of the Seventh 5-Year (1976-80) Plan and on the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, (1981-85) and for the period up to 1990."

The draft theses were thoroughly discussed by the communists and by millions of working people. All our people and the entire party widely responded to and approved the basic trends of our socioeconomic development. Many of the proposals submitted during the discussions and numerous opinions expressed have already been taken into consideration. Others will be considered and mentioned along with the proposals submitted by the delegates during the final edition of the theses. The remaining recommendations must be most attentively studied by the organs and links to which they directly apply.

The problems and tasks have been thoroughly worked out in the theses and are supported by strong arguments; this enables me to submit the most essential, crucial problems of our social development and of party work during the forthcoming period to your attention.

II. Basic Trends and Problems of Economic Policy

Comrades,

What are the most characteristic peculiarities and circumstances under which the building of the mature socialist society will continue during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period and throughout the following years?

FURTHER BUILDING DEVELOPED SOCIALISM WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED UPON THE BASIS OF AN EXISTING, TREMENDOUS ECONOMIC AND INTELLECTUAL POTENTIAL THAT HAS BEEN CREATED IN THE PROCESS OF BUILDING SOCIALISM. IT WILL BE IMPLEMENTED UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF A GREATER MATURITY OF SOCIALIST SOCIAL RELATIONS AND UNDER CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S LOFTY SOCIAL AND WORKING ACHIEVEMENTS AND EFFORTS.

We are facing the necessity to accomplish new qualitative and quantitative changes in the material-technical base of our country, in all fields of life through prompt implementation of the latest achievements of the scientific-technical revolution.

IN THE SECOND PLACE, THE FURTHER BUILDING OF MATURE SOCIALISM WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED UNDER CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY'S EVEN MORE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR. At the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan period our foreign trade exchange, compared to our national income, will grow 85 percent. The tasks of our highly effective participation in this division of labor and in increasing the capability of our goods to compete on international markets is of primary importance.

THE BUILDING OF MATURE SOCIALISM WILL CONTINUE UNDER THE COMPLICATED AND CONTRADICTORY INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. On the one hand, building socialism will proceed under the favorable circumstances of the consolidation and development of real socialism, under the circumstances of further intensifying integration with the fraternal socialist countries--CEMA members--and under the circumstances of the expanding, comprehensive drawing closer together between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. On the other hand, we will work under conditions of the intensifying general crisis of capitalism, under conditions of a serious aggravation of international tension and intensified striving of the aggressive forces of imperialism to act in contradiction to the people's aspirations for peace and understanding. There are no guarantees that the energy and raw material crisis in the capitalist world will not expand and assume even more drastic forms. These circumstances are forcing us to seek adequate solutions and to be ready to neutralize this negative influence upon our economy.

In accordance with the basic tenets of the party program, in accordance with the standard of development reached in our country and in accordance with the conditions under which the building of mature socialism will continue in our country, the BCP Central Committee proposes that the 12th congress should adopt the following main socioeconomic tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan period: To pursue the line of comprehensive satisfaction of the people's steadily growing material, intellectual and social needs on the basis of intensifying the national economy, on the basis of consistent application of the new economic approach and of its mechanism and on the basis of further perfecting socialist social relations in our country. (applause)

The settlement of concrete problems emanating from the main socioeconomic tasks will lead to increasing our state's economic power, to further consolidating the socialist way of life and to improving the prosperity of all members of our society.

1. Decisive Trend Toward Intensifying the National Economy

Comrades,

The BCP Central Committee thinks that now, the basic and decisive factor in the country's development is represented by intensifying the national economy and all spheres of social life. The problem of transition to intensive development is by no means new. It was set forth at the 9th BCP Congress and specified at the 11th BCP Congress. We have obtained certain results in this respect: Almost the entire growth of the national income in recent years has been obtained thanks to the increase of social labor productivity.

Nevertheless, the extensive factors in many branches and activities of material production continue to prevail. Very often expansion and building of new production capacities are undertaken without utilizing the existing ones as much as possible. Material and labor resources are being inefficiently used. Technical, technological and organizational standards of production are developing too slowly. The number of personnel is unjustifiably increasing. Prevalence of extensive development is a characteristic feature of science and of the educational system as well. It also applies to the administrative sector and to many other activities in the non-production sphere.

A decisive change for the better is needed in this respect. The opportunities of extensive development have been exhausted to a great extent. We have only limited opportunities for increasing labor resources. Expenditures for the output and processing of raw materials and other materials have increased; if we continue to proceed along the path of the past, we will not be able drastically to increase social labor productivity, we will not be able to achieve high quality and great effectiveness, we will not be able to cope with the tasks connected with improving the living standard. The alternative is unmistakable: WE MUST, IN THE FORTHCOMING PERIOD, COMPREHENSIVELY ADOPT THE PRIORITY INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ECONOMY AND OF ALL OTHER SPHERES IN OUR SOCIAL LIFE.

What is the main thing and what is new in this trend?

FIRST there is the question of intensive development which must encompass not only individual branches of material production, but the whole of our material production sphere. Not only material production should be included in these activities, but also all sectors of the non-productive sphere, all activities of our social life. We must use the factors of intensification with the greatest efficiency and in all sectors.

SECOND there is not only the problem of saving manpower resources, but also of intensive development through fully utilizing the three basic elements of the production process: The means of labor, the objects of labor and manpower--and on this basis we must decisively reduce the expenditures per production unit down to the level of the most advanced countries in this respect.

THIRD there is the matter of intensification, which is based on promptly introducing and applying contemporary scientific-technical achievements in all spheres and activities of the national economy and in all links of reproduction. This is why, during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period and during the period up to 1990 we must devote exceptional importance to accelerating scientific-technical progress and to optimally utilize the results of scientific and technological development.

The BCP Central Committee is convinced that the congress will approve the tenet on comprehensive intensification of activities and that this tenet will be accepted by all communists and working people as an expression of the objective law of our development, as a task for whose solution and accomplishment it is necessary to direct all forces and the creative strength of all party, state, economic and social organs and organizations, a task to which all working people of socialism and our entire nation should devote their efforts.

What are the main trends to which we should devote our greatest attention during the forthcoming period in order to implement comprehensive intensification?

ONE OF THESE TRENDS IS THE COMPREHENSIVE AUTOMATION OF PRODUCTION. The task is, as early as during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period, to adopt the application of the automation systems by using electronic calculating methods, and microprocessing technology in those branches of production which are of decisive importance to our economy, to increase national income and the efficiency of foreign trade activities. This means that we should more widely introduce automated systems of management of technological processes in uninterruptable production, that we should use systems of operational-dispatching [operativno-dispechersko] management of production with interruptable processes, that we should use systems of automation in engineering and designing activities, and that we should apply automated sections, production lines and systems of highly productive machines.

Considerable preparatory work has already been accomplished in this sector. The task now is to expand and intensify the automation processes in production. This determines the new, responsible tasks of our machine-building industry, of the construction and production of equipment systems endowed with qualitatively new characteristic features, machines which free man from his direct participation in the production process and which contribute to a manifold increase of social labor productivity. At the same time we must widely apply the most advanced achievements of other countries in this sector.

Another trend is the comprehensive mechanization and reduction of manual labor. In all sectors where, during the forthcoming 5-year plan period, we will not be able to apply and introduce comprehensive automation, our efforts should concentrate upon comprehensive mechanization. This applies to a number of basic production branches and in particular to auxiliary activities such as transportation within plants, repair and machine-tool enterprises, loading and unloading activities, and so forth. The introduction of comprehensive mechanization processes is also required by the necessity to decisively reduce the number of workers engaged in manual and unattractive work. Hence, this is not only an economic, but also a social task.

THE NEXT TREND IS TO STUDY, PROPAGATE AND APPLY ON A LARGE SCALE ADVANCED EXPERIENCE ACQUIRED IN OUR OWN COUNTRY AND ABROAD.

This trend is of exceptional importance to us. It does not demand any particular capital investments, but at the same time it ensures a prompt socioeconomic effect. Advanced experience is an invaluable national wealth. It is a creative manifestation of outstanding workers, of our best plants and enterprises and of our most outstanding brigades, as well as of our innovators, inventors and of all those who are the exponents of advanced experience. Advanced experience exists in all sectors of our social life. We can apply the experience of the fraternal socialist countries and of foreign companies. Today, the study and introduction of the experience of advanced enterprises and brigades, of outstanding workers, is seriously underestimated. Many leading cadres are neglecting it. We should not admit modernization and reorganization without the application of our own advanced experience and of experience from abroad. The practical engineering links and the design engineering bureaus are bearing particular responsibility in this respect.

THE TREND TOWARD COMPREHENSIVE INTENSIFICATION DEMANDS DECISIVE REORGANIZATION OF OUR INVESTMENT POLICY, BY MOST CLOSELY LINKING IT TO THE TASKS OF THE ACCELERATED APPLICATION OF ACHIEVEMENTS IN SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS. Modernization and reconstruction of the material-production base should be the prevailing trend in investment policy. In many places, however, this policy is implemented by using obsolete technical equipment and technological methods, which causes losses of time and resources. The meaning of modernization and reconstruction is to ensure the application of the greatest achievements in the field of technology, equipment and labor organization. To put it briefly, it means to apply the latest achievements of the scientific-technical revolution. This is the kind of modernization and reconstruction we need now. For this purpose it is envisaged to allocate approximately 70 percent of the investments in the material sphere for modernization and reconstruction activities. All this demands a drastic reorganization in the work of designing, building and engineering organizations, as well as in the work of all those who are supplying machines and equipment.

In implementing our investment policy the volume of capital investments must entirely conform to the existing labor, material, and currency resources and to the opportunities of the building organizations. We must also concentrate resources upon modernizing and developing the most important production branches and reduce the volume of uncommissioned building activities. As early as during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period we must decisively shorten the "designing-construction-commissioning of production capacities" process in order to improve the time factor in this respect. Modernization and reconstruction processes must be carried out with a minimum of interruption in the production process and in the schedules for amortizing capital investments. The basic criterion for the efficiency of the investment process is not the quantity of capital investments and not simply the number of production capacities that have been commissioned and built, but the period within which they have been built, the standard of those production capacities and the competitive qualities of the goods produced in them.

In order to successfully implement the investment policy we must decisively improve coordination and interaction among the participants in the investment process. Their mutual relations must be entirely placed on an economic basis and labor remuneration must be linked to the quality of work and to the timely construction and commissioning of the projects.

One of the most acute, worldwide problems, which actually is problem number one for our country as well, is directly linked to the intensification of the national economy. This is the problem of PROVIDING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY WITH ENERGY AND RAW MATERIAL RESOURCES, AND THEIR MOST EFFICIENT UTILIZATION.

In this respect too, a change for the better is necessary on the basis of using the contemporary achievements of scientific-technical progress. The development of the power supply demands improvements in its structure. The relative share of electric power produced by the nuclear power stations will achieve approximately 26 percent in 1985, and about 40 percent in 1990. Brown coal will continue to be the main source of energy in our country. Along with this, we must pursue efforts to use geothermal and solar energy.

As early as during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period it will be necessary, without delay, to adopt AN INTENSIFIED AND COMPREHENSIVE USE OF RAW MATERIALS by applying technological methods which result in little waste or no waste at all. We must begin with the decisive branches of production, and later introduce this method on a mass scale. It is no secret that in many places in our country today, people are lightheartedly wasting valuable raw materials, and they fail to display an attitude of careful masters of public property. Even in those countries which have rich raw material resources, a careful and thrifty use of such resources is considered a task of exceptional importance. What can we say of our country, where nature has to a great extent deprived us of such wealth? We should no longer resign ourselves to this situation. It is necessary to wage a struggle for the efficient use of all energy and raw material resources in all places, and it is necessary to reduce an excessive consumption of energy and raw materials in production. It is necessary to work out and apply progressive methods of spending raw materials, fuel and energy. This is now the most important reserve for solving the energy and raw material problem.

The problem of INCREASING OUR OWN RESOURCES OUTPUT has become urgent. Regardless of the fact that these resources are not very rich, and that prospecting conditions are more difficult, we must cope with this problem. Of course, we should not underestimate the question of national economic effectiveness in this respect. We must accelerate the geological prospecting work on useful deposits. At the same time, it will be necessary for us to use more fully the opportunities of our cooperation with the other fraternal countries, and particularly with the Soviet Union and the developing countries. Considerable work has already been accomplished in this respect. Solid prerequisites have been created for expanding and intensifying this cooperation on a mutually advantageous basis.

The BCP Central Committee has on several occasions raised the question of COLLECTING AND FULLY UTILIZING SECONDARY RAW MATERIALS. Our possibilities are tremendous in this respect. Unfortunately, however, they are not being sufficiently used. A general solution must be found for this question within a short time. The utilization of secondary raw materials must become a nationwide task, and it must become one of the criteria of totally evaluating the activities of economic leaders and social organizations. Secondary raw materials must be treated with the same attitude as material values. The supply of enterprises with a number of raw materials must be prevented in the future unless they observe the norms of expenditure per production unit, and unless they deliver technological waste products according to the established norms. Managers who do not preserve or use secondary raw materials must be held responsible for wasting and squandering national property.

In addition to this, we must also settle the question of creating a modern material base for processing secondary raw materials which do not require large capital investments.

Long term national programs have been worked out in our country for a thrifty use of energy resources, for the application of technological methods which guarantee production without waste, and for the utilization of secondary raw materials. These programs must be constantly updated, and we must adapt them to the latest achievements of scientific-technical progress. The implementation of these programs is of particular importance for the solution of the energy-raw material problem during the forthcoming period.

Comrades, the trend toward comprehensive intensification will ensure prerequisites for a DRASTIC AND, IN SOME BASIC PRODUCTION BRANCHES EVEN MANYFOLD INCREASE OF SOCIAL LABOR PRODUCTIVITY, AND WILL ENABLE US TO FULLY USE THE TREMENDOUS RESERVES AND OPPORTUNITIES EXISTING IN OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM. (applause)

2. Consistent Application of the Economic Approach in all Spheres of Social Life

Comrades,

During the period under review, one of the party's main concerns was to work out and gradually apply the new economic approach, and to apply the new economic mechanism in the management and work of the economic sector as well as in all other spheres of our development. As is known, the development and application of the new economic approach and of its mechanism have been pursued for as long as 3 years. This is a result of systematic work in our party leadership for the constant perfection of social administration, and its adaption to the development of productive forces and to the degree of maturity achieved in production relations.

In building the mature socialist society, the commodity character of production remains; hence, the objective necessity of fully utilizing commodity-monetary relations, in conformity with their new meaning, by perfecting the economic levers that are connected with them, such as trade, credits, taxes, currency, bonuses, etc. Underrating the significance of commodity-monetary relations, and failing to use them in a sensible and comprehensive manner, means putting the emphasis on bureaucratic administration methods, and tolerating narrowmindedness, tutelage and arbitrariness in economic organizations.

This is why we adopted the elaboration and application of new methods of management, of new forms of organization and administration--to put it briefly, we are working out a comprehensive SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC METHODS AND MEANS OF INFLUENCING AND SETTLING FORMS OF ORGANIZATION, LIKELY TO ENCOMPASS THE PLANNING SECTOR AND THE PRODUCTION SECTOR AS WELL, INCLUDING THE DISTRIBUTION AND MANAGEMENT SECTORS. This new economic method has nothing in common with concepts of a temporary, opportunistic commercial mechanism. It adapts the economic organization to society and to a better coordination with the objective laws of socialism.

At the same time we must stress that THE COMPREHENSIVE, FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ECONOMY, AND OF THE OTHER SPHERES OF LIFE, WILL PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF THE LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.

The hitherto acquired experience and the numerous proposals in discussing the draft theses justify the consistent application of the new economic approach in all spheres of life, by introducing certain specifications and additions to its basic elements.

IN THE PLANNING SECTOR, THE TASK NOW IS TO LOOK FOR AN EVEN MORE CORRECT COORDINATION OF CENTRALISM AND DECENTRALIZATION. This will ensure a further expansion of democracy. Central planning must be definitely freed from extraneous functions and concentrate primarily on determining and defining a longterm state economic policy, upon specifying the rates of speed and dimensions of development, upon stabilizing national balances and upon ensuring all the necessary conditions for a harmonious development of the national economy and our entire social organism.

We must further expand the rights and economic independence of socialist organizations. On the basis of a limited number of obligatory state tasks, upon the basis of longterm norms and criteria, these organizations must fully independently work out their own counterplans of economic and social development. A COUNTERPLAN WHICH HAS NOT BEEN DISCUSSED AT WORKERS MEETINGS, AND HAS NOT BEEN ADOPTED BY THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OR ECONOMIC COUNCIL, CANNNOT BE CONSIDERED THE PLAN OF THE WORKERS COLLECTIVE. Each change of obligatory state tasks at the initiative of the aforementioned organization can be adopted only after talking to the management of the enterprises and plants. Such proposals must be discussed precisely with them, and both sides should base themselves upon well justified economic arguments in discussing such problems.

In practical work we must also apply the Leninist tenet about the organization of the work of the STATE PLANNING ORGAN, which must become an efficient "economic general staff" of party and state leadership in connection with working out the basic problems of our development. Ministers from functional and basic economic ministries must take part in the work of the planning organ. They must prepare the draft plans on a national scale and be responsible for compiling the plans, as well as for organization and control during their implementation.

We still have much work to accomplish in comprehensively applying the new planning technology, under which the plan is being compiled from bottom to top on the basis of well organized engineering draft projects. These projects must contribute to fully uncovering reserves, and help to achieve the planned technological-economic scope of production as well as to prompt application of advanced scientific-technical achievements known in our country and abroad. This technological method requires AN EVEN MORE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF SOCIALIST DISCIPLINE--discipline in the planning sector, in the financial and technological sectors, as well as working discipline.

In compiling the plans, we must envisage the necessary MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL RESERVES which guarantee a normal proceeding of the re-production process.

PARTICULAR ATTENTION MUST BE DEVOTED TO THE FORM OF BRIGADE ORGANIZATION OF WORK as a basic factor of the consistent application of the new economic approach, and for a drastic increase in the effectiveness of production.

The brigade is the basic organizational, economic and social link in the production process of an individual enterprise, or plant, which is entrusted to implement certain tasks stemming from the plan by most efficiently using materials, production capacities and manpower. The brigade works on the basis of full cost accounting and self-sufficiency. Hence, this is a type of labor organization which most fully conforms to our concept that the workers collective should be the master of socialist property and of its own plant, and that it has a vital interest in the development of the plant. Brigades of this new type are creating the real prerequisites for a creative approach to work and the protection of socialist property, as well as for the development of a conscious labor discipline and self-discipline, for acquiring more than one professional qualification, and for consolidating comradely cooperation and mutual relations based on feelings of comradeship. Such a type of brigade, in which every member is responsible for the results of the collective's work, must be created in all production units, as well as in the nonproduction sphere, taking into consideration the peculiar characteristic features of this sphere.

THE QUESTION OF DIRECTLY LINKING PRODUCTION TO THE MARKET IS ALSO IMPORTANT. This link is not effective enough today. We must carefully examine the functions and structure of the acting trade organizations and accomplish the necessary improvements to place the activities of such organizations on an economic basis.

THE FULL-FLEDGED FUNCTIONING OF ITS ECONOMIC MECHANISM PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE CONSISTENT APPLICATION OF THE NEW ECONOMIC APPROACH. Recently, considerable efforts have been made to introduce a relative equality in the conditions for applying the economic mechanism in different economic organizations and their department. They are all working according to uniform criteria and rules. The purchasing prices of agricultural goods were coordinated with the socially necessary expenditures, while within the forthcoming months improvements will be introduced in the wholesale prices of other branches and activities. Specific rules have been worked out for applying the new economic mechanism in the nonproduction sphere as well. We must now complete the application of the new economic approach in the activities of ministries and central departments, as well as in the conurbation systems. Thus, prerequisites will be created for comprehensively applying the new economic approach and its mechanism in all spheres and activities of our society.

During the forthcoming period we must complete the application of the basic principle and requirements of the new economic mechanism. This presupposes that EACH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITY MUST BE BASED ON ECONOMIC COST ACCOUNTING AND ITS CORE, WHICH IS SELF-SUFFICIENCY. The actual application of this principle presupposes that every worker must daily behave as the true MASTER OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY, and must have the feeling that his personal well-being depends upon the results of his work. This, as I have already stressed, demands that the management of production means should be entrusted to the workers collectives, to the new brigades. Then they will have real rights and power to protect and increase socialist property, as well as more efficiently using it for the collective and to the benefit of society. The character of the workers wages, corresponding to the results of work, is also a characteristic feature of the new economic mechanism and ensures conditions for a uniformity of the interests of society, of the collective and of the individual, aimed at a fuller and better management of socialist property. Therefore, no deviations from this principle should be allowed.

At the same time, through consolidating discipline, we must create solid guarantees to defend the interests of those collectives which are working well, against those which fail to fulfill their obligations on time, in connection with coordinated deliveries, and whose standard of work is poor.

In this connection we must enhance the role and place of profit as one of the most important economic levers. Profit is a synthetizing index which, in the long run, sums up the results of the utilization of production means and manpower. It sums up the results of increasing social labor productivity, of reducing production costs and improving production quality; it sums up the results of improving organization in each individual economic link. Owing to this, the profit obtained not as a result of speculation but as a real expression of improved economic activities, must become a basic criterion for the work of each workers collective, as well as of each brigade, a criterion for the evaluation of their counterplans. The economic organizations and enterprises which are now receiving subsidies must, within a certain schedule, become fully self-sufficient and obtain certain profits.

As is known, different wage categories exist under capitalism as well. However, under the conditions of socialism, profits--as regards their socioeconomic nature and as regards the method of their origins, distribution and utilization--basically differ from profits in capitalist society. Under socialism profit remains in the hands of society and serves the people's well-being.

We must enhance even more the role of newly created APPLIED ENGINEERING AND MARKETING-SUPPLY ORGANIZATIONS AND LINKS. It is necessary for the applied engineering organizations to become active centers for the application of the most recent achievements of scientific-technical progress. They must promote the technical, technological and organizational standards of production, while the remuneration of the workers engaged in them must depend only upon the effect of the measures introduced. The trade organizations engaged in supplying-marketing activities must ensure on an economic basis the indestructible link between production on the one hand, and domestic as well as international markets on the other.

If we sum up everything we have said so far, the conclusion imposes itself that OUR ECONOMIC POLICY CAN BE SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTED IF THE NEW ECONOMIC APPROACH IS CONSISTENTLY AND COMPREHENSIVELY APPLIED. THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION AT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS THAT ALL ELEMENTS COMPOSING THE NEW ECONOMIC APPROACH AND NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM SHOULD BE COMPREHENSIVELY APPLIED IN EVERY ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, IN EVERY BRIGADE AND IN ALL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. (applause)

The BCP Central Committee realizes that these advantages will not automatically appear, and that they will not appear all at once. This is why we address all leading and executive cadres: Comrades, your efforts, your persevering and purpose-oriented work for the creative application and constant perfection of the new economic approach and its mechanism are necessary.

3. Basic Problems of the Development of Economic Branches

Comrades,

The implementation of our economic policy during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period, and during the forthcoming period, demands further developing and perfecting the material-technical base by ensuring, at the same time, a well-balanced and harmonious development of the economic branches. Our policy in connection with implementing these tasks is set forth in the draft theses. Certain basic problems of national economic significance, however, deserve special attention.

THE FIRST PROBLEM IS THE ONE CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRESSIVE STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR.

We will continue to develop, at accelerated rates of speed, the branches and production sectors which are creating prerequisites and means for the intensification and intellectualization of all spheres. We will continue to develop such branches which over the population's needs for high quality goods, and which increase the opportunities for an even more effective participation of our country in international division of labor.

An important means of perfecting the structure of production on a national scale is further applying the MULTIPLE GOAL-ORIENTED APPROACH which was worked out at the 11th BCP Congress and at the 1976 July BCP Central Committee plenum. We have solid elaborations in this respect, some of which are being successfully implemented. In individual branches, the first results have already been implemented. In the machine building industry, for example, the first and basic echelon has been created--in the metal casting sector. This basic branch of the machine building industry is creating the necessary prerequisites for fully utilizing the existing material base for the production of more and more high quality final goods. The basic construction of the second echelon, within the next few years, will enable us to increase the competitiveness of machine units, assemblies and component parts, as well as to create conditions for improving the technical-economic scope of the final machine building industry's products. Similar work is facing us in other branches of production, such as chemical industry, construction, light industry and so forth.

The elaborations based on the multiple goal-oriented approach in industrial branches must be coordinated with the territorial criteria, on the basis of a uniform production of the technical and social infrastructure for all branches and activities situated in a given territory. This demands our overcoming administrative and territorial barriers, and obtaining an optimum final national economic effect.

THE SECOND PROBLEM APPLIES TO ENSURING SUFFICIENT QUANTITIES OF HIGH QUALITY GOODS AND SERVICES TO THE POPULATION.

During the period under review, as was pointed out, the production of mass consumer goods greatly increased, and public services to the population have improved. The care devoted by the BCP Central Committee to this sector stems from the programmatic tenet that, under socialism, everything is done for the sake of man and to his benefit. We can say that the meeting held in Ruse last year, which was devoted to increasing production of consumer goods for the population, and to public services' improvements, is producing good results. Despite all this, there is still much to be desired. We have not yet resolved this question. There are cases of interruption of sales, and goods of unsatisfactory quality are still being produced. As for public services to the population, they are still lagging behind the growing needs. Even greater efforts and irreconcilability are necessary in order to resolutely increase the production of mass consumer goods and in order to expand the network of public services, as well as to improve their quality.

The solution of this problem must become THE PRIMARY DUTY OF ALL BRANCHES AND ALL PRODUCTION SECTORS AND ENTERPRISES, REGARDLESS OF THE OBJECT OF THEIR ACTIVITIES. Such a tenet is realistic and objectively necessary. Of course, the task of producing goods and ensuring public services must be differentiated and specified, in conformity with the characteristic features of a given branch, production sector, or economic organization. In the heavy industry branches, for example, this obligation must be fulfilled, above all, through organizing the production of goods which complement the basic production. Attached to the combines, enterprises, agro-industrial complexes and so forth, an expanded network of workshops for the production of mass consumer goods can be created.

As a result of all this, we do not need any declarations or good wishes at the present moment, but we expect practical activities from each enterprise and each branch of production, from every party, state and economic leading body. The care for increasing mass consumer goods and for improving their quality, the care for better and more extensive public services for the working people, is and must be an exceptionally important economic, social and political task.

THE THIRD PROBLEM APPLIES TO THE NECESSITY OF IMPROVING PRODUCTION QUALITY AND TO INNOVATION.

Our entire policy of modernization and reorganization must be subjected to the task that those goods and production sectors which are of decisive importance and in which our country is specializing, must be raised to the world standards as regards their technical perfection and their esthetic qualities. I would like once more to stress that the care for quality and technical standards of production must now begin as early as at the research stage. This care must be at the center of attention in engineering and design activities, as well as in specifying standards at all stages of the production process. It must end with packaging, transportation and sales of the product. In addition to this, we must adopt decisive measures for the modernization of goods, for the production of new goods and varieties likely to satisfy the constantly growing esthetic demands of the population and the people's more refined taste.

THE FOURTH PROBLEM APPLIES TO THE NECESSITY OF INTENSIFYING CARE FOR THE ENVIRONMENT AS A GENERAL AND IRREPLACEABLE ASSET OF THE PEOPLE. The protection of our air, soil and water against pollution must remain in future the irrevocable obligation of all branches and economic organizations. However, we need greater strictness and irreconcilability toward those who violate these obligations. They must be held responsible for this, just as they would be held responsible in case of not fulfilling the socioeconomic development plan.

Environmental protection is a state policy. We will continue to devote considerable means and resources to this policy. We are ready to cooperate with our neighbor countries for environmental protection on our beautiful Balkan Peninsula and for the sake of our peoples' health.

Comrades,

The draft theses stress that INDUSTRY will continue to play a leading role in the development of our national economic complex. This sector will continue to grow at stable rates of speed. The entire growth of industrial production during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period will have to be obtained at the expense of increasing labor productivity.

THE MACHINE BUILDING SECTOR is being entrusted with particularly responsible tasks. Machine building production is envisaged to increase by 50-55 percent. At the same time its structure will be improved; production sectors of strategic importance will be developed at more accelerated rates of speed, and in particular, attention will be devoted to electronics and electronic products, to industrial robots and manipulators, to modern microprocessing equipment and systems, provided with the necessary programming. Work connected with the production of computers based on new physical principles and endowed with a new technical-economic scope, guaranteeing high labor productivity and ability to compete on international markets, will be accelerated.

The basis of the electronics industry will be developed by taking into consideration the existing contemporary technologies and the most up to date technical achievements. This will represent a solid basis for implementing our program on the electronization of the national economy and on improving the people's daily living conditions.

Special attention will be devoted to the production of modern, highly electronized and automated metal processing machines, as well as to the development of transport and heavy machine building as a decisive prerequisite for the modernization of the material-technical base of the machine building industry itself as well as other economic branches.

Important tasks are facing us in the sector of the CHEMICAL INDUSTRY whose production must increase by 50 percent by 1985. This modern and promising industrial branch must become one of the basic factors in intensifying production in all its branches, and chemical industry goods must be widely introduced in the people's daily life. Special attention must be devoted to small tonnage chemical industry, to the expansion of polymeric goods and industrial microbiology.

Perfection in the structure of our TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM is of crucial importance for our economy. We must give priority to the development of railroad transport in this respect. It is superflous to point out the tremendous importance of transportation for our country's comprehensive life. In this sphere, however, there are many shortcomings, which exert a negative effect upon our national economy and upon public services. This demands our devoting greater attention to the transportation sector and to improving discipline, as well as perfecting labor organization. The further modernization of the material-technical base in all branches of transport is envisaged to continue during the current 5-year plan period, and it is also envisaged to provide for greater traffic safety and better transportation services.

Comrades, we will have to cope with many tasks, involving great responsibility, during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period in the AGRICULTURAL SECTOR.

There are a few tasks which can be considered particularly topical. They are as follows:

The first applies to the general solution of the GRAIN PROBLEM and upon this basis it applies also to the accelerated and effective development of the animal husbandry sector.

The BCP Central Committee thinks that the PROMPT INCREASE IN GRAIN PRODUCTION AND ITS MOST EFFECTIVE UTILIZATION MUST BE CONSIDERED AS THE MAIN STRATEGIC TASK OF THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR DURING THE EIGHTH 5-YEAR PLAN PERIOD. The average annual production of bread and fodder grain must reach 10.5-11 million tons by the end of the 5-year plan period. At the same time as the intensification of grain production, measures must be adopted for expanding the areas sown with grain and fodder crops, by including no less than 2 million decares of abandoned areas in the cultivation program.

As regards the animal husbandry sector development, we must give priority to cattle and sheep breeding. The creation of our own highly productive breeds and hybreds, and the import of such from abroad will play an important role in raising the standard of the animal husbandry sector. As early as in the first years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan period, ruminating cattle should be subjected to high quality standardized feeding methods, based on scientific achievements.

Let us say a few words about the MOUNTAIN AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES. The opportunities which these large agricultural enterprises enjoy in connection with the production of more and cheaper goods, especially in the animal husbandry sector, are not well used at present. Of course, we cannot fail to take into account the specific conditions under which the mountain agro-industrial complexes are working--such as the fact that they have less arable land and that this land is poorer than elsewhere, as well as their limited irrigation possibilities, etc. In this connection, however, we can say that there are vast mountain and forest pastures which offer splendid conditions for cattle breeding. The juicy pastures of our mountains and forests must be covered by herds of cattle.

The maintenance and utilization of the mountainous and semimountainous pastures and meadows demand a new approach and also the establishment of modern pasture complexes based on engineering projects.

The BCP Central Committee is convinced that the leading cadres, communists and all laborers in the mountain agro-industrial complexes will adopt this task with full understanding, and will devote their efforts, creative spirit and initiative in coping with it. We expect the Dimitrov Komsomol to expand the brigade movement on a large scale, and to make its contribution to the establishment of pasture complexes and fruit tree plantings in the mountainous regions.

The task of SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF CONURBATION SYSTEMS IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE AT THE PRESENT MOMENT.

Naturally, the main source of supplying the population will be represented by the public sector in future also. For this reason, we must consolidate the agro-industrial complexes by considerably enhancing their role in the self-sufficiency system. Thus, the social functions of agro-industrial complexes will be consolidated as well. At the same time, we should by no means underrate other forms of production in the agricultural sector, which have by far not exhausted all their opportunities. I am talking about THE NECESSITY, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES, TO FURTHER DEVELOP AND CONSOLIDATE PRIVATE PLOTS AND AUXILIARY AGRICULTURE, AS A CONTINUATION AND COMPLEMENT TO THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN AGRICULTURE.

It is high time to overcome all economic, organizational and psychological barriers, which are impeding better utilization of private plots and auxiliary farms for supplying the population with meat, milk, fruit, vegetables and other goods throughout the year. Our soil is fertile. If every agricultural worker and every collective treats the soil like careful masters, real prerequisites exist to produce the most varied goods for covering the needs of one's own family, the needs of the collective and of the market in one's own private plot and in the auxiliary farms. The task is not to cultivate everything that mother earth is generously providing, in order to transform the private plots and auxiliary farms into a strong support for the self-sufficiency system.

In this connection I would like to expressly emphasize that there is no reason whatsoever to oppose the public sector to the private one. The interests of socialist society demand the implementation of a policy aimed at the harmonious development of public, private and auxiliary agriculture, by ensuring uniform planning and management at all levels. The national agro-industrial union, as well as the okrug agro-industrial unions and the agro-industrial complexes, in particular, must render even closer assistance to private and auxiliary plots and farms. They must provide them with the necessary seeds, planting materials, fertilizers, fodder and insecticides, as well as with the necessary breeds, with veterinarian and agronomy services, with technical equipment, working cattle and so forth.

Through the development of the public and private sector in agriculture, and thanks to the better use of pastures and meadows, A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER MUST BE ACHIEVED AS EARLY AS IN 1981 AS REGARDS THE SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF CONURBATION SYSTEMS IN THE SUPPLY OF AGRICULTURAL GOODS.

Our agriculture has reached a high standard of concentration, mechanization, chemicalization and irrigation. Our cadres have accumulated considerable experience in managing large agricultural enterprises. This is the third year that we have been applying the new economic approach in agriculture, which is successfully passing the test of practical experience. A BCP Central Committee and government decision was recently adopted on increasing purchasing prices of basic agricultural products, thanks to which, prerequisites were created for guaranteeing the profitability of all agricultural branches. The necessary conditions for successfully accomplishing topical tasks in agriculture actually exist.

In this connection I would like to stress the GREAT ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE NATIONAL AGRO-INDUSTRIAL UNION. We have created this union as a voluntary association of agro-industrial complexes and other agricultural organizations, which is taking care of the comprehensive reporduction process in the agricultural branch: starting with science, production and processing, to storage and sales of agricultural goods on domestic and international markets.

The plan of the agro-industrial union must carry out the functions of a FOOD SUPPLY PROGRAM, which through the intensification of agriculture and of food industry, must soon be able to basically resolve the question of the comprehensive supply of the population with basic foodstuffs throughout the year, to provide fresh and processed foodstuffs and to increase our exports.

AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE is now facing tasks involving great responsiblity in connection with further intensifying agriculture. In order to better coordinate the efforts of the scientific links and of the scientists in this branch, and in order to accelerate the introduction and practical application of scientific results, it will be expedient to create a new academy of agricultural sciences.

Comrades,

The BCP Central Committee devotes and will further devote great care to the task of FURTHER DEVELOPING AND INTENSIFYING OUR COUNTRY'S FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS. We consider our participation in the international division of labor as an exceptionally important and powerful factor in implementing the comprehensive intensification of the national economy. This is why we envisage that the increase of our foreign trade exchange should considerably outstrip the rates of increase of the national income.

This demands from us that we devote particular care to intensively developing exports, by ensuring the most direct linkage between the production of export goods and the requirements of international markets. In practice this demands the greatest flexibility from production and from the trade organizations regarding the rapidly changing economic situation. It demands an increase in export resources at accelerated rates of speed, resources which should be of high quality and capable of competing on international markets. In producing such resources we must assert the key position of the machine-building industry by increasing exports of machinery systems and technological lines, of electronic equipment, of automation equipment and computer systems, of special apparatuses and of unique machine-building goods. The products of our chemical industry and of our metallurgical industry must have a growing share in our exports.

As to imports, the main tying is to conduct a policy aimed at optimal economic expediency in providing our country with the necessary fuel, raw materials and highly productive technological goods, as well as with high quality and varied consumer goods for our population.

THE INTENSIFICATION AND EXPANSION OF OUR PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST INTEGRATION with the CEMA member-countries will remain the cornerstone of our foreign economic policy in the future. Based on bilateral and multilateral cooperation, this policy above all concentrates on comprehensive cooperation and drawing closer together between the people's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

In full conformity with our policy of cooperation and understanding WE WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE CAPITALIST AND DEVELOPING STATES ON THE BASIS OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE.

Comrades, these are the basic trends and problems of our economic policy at the present stage of the country's development, which the BCP Central Committee is submitting to the congress. The implementation of these trends must result in a further accelerated development of our society's material-technical base, it must result in a drastic improvement of the technological and technical standards of this base and in a considerable increase of social labor productivity.

If we were to describe in a few words the MOST IMMEDIATE TASKS IN THE ECONOMIC POLICY SECTOR we should state as follows:

--These tasks comprise application, application and more application of the most up-to-date achievements of scientific, technical progress and of Bulgarian and foreign advanced experience to practical work;

--These tasks comprise CONCENTRATION AND SPECIALIZATION of production upon the basis of consistent application of the multiple goal-oriented approach;

-- These tasks comprise the struggle for a high quality of goods, for increasing the competitive qualities of our national production on international markets;

— These tasks comprise the production of MORE AND MORE VARIED GOODS, as well as the expansion and improvement of PUBLIC SERVICES to the population;

— These tasks comprise the guarantee of PROFIT for each economic unit to be obtained from all activities.

FROM THE ROSTRUM OF THE PARTY CONGRESS I AM EXPRESSING OUR COMMON CONFIDENCE THAT THE COMMUNISTS AND ALL WORKING PEOPLE IN OUR COUNTRY WILL ADOPT WITH DEEP INNER CONVICTION THE TASKS IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR AND WILL EXPAND NATIONWIDE COMPETITION FOR A NEW UPSURGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIALIST MOTHERLAND (stormy and prolonged applause)

III. Social Consumption Funds--A Basis for Implementing Social and Cultural Policy

Comrades,

Our party always has considered the development of the socialist economy not as a purpose in itself, but as a MEANS of more fully covering the material and intellectual needs of the people, as a means for a multifaceted and harmonious development of human personality.

The liquidation of the antagonistic classes and of exploitation of man by man, following the socialist revolution, is our historical victory. As I already pointed out, the social assets of all classes and social groups, from towns and villages, have become equal.

This is why, at the present stage of development, we must enhance the role of SOCIAL CONSUMPTION FUNDS in economic development and in implementing our social and cultural policy, as well as in improving our people's living standard.

In this connection I will dwell on certain current problems of creating and utilizing social consumption funds.

1. On a New Approach of Creating and Using Social Consumption Funds.

At the 1976 July plenum of the BCP Central Committee our party concentrated its attention on elaborating and applying a new approach to the creation and use of social consumption funds, an approach that is likely better to assess the really existing opportunities of our country and more efficiently to stimulate the people's work and initiative, as well as the efforts of the collectives, of inhabited settlements and of their leaderships.

In the years of building our motherland's socialism, and following the historical April plenum of the BCP Central Committee in particular, the social consumption funds rapidly increased, their structure improved and the principles and forms of their distribution and utilization have also improved. Thanks to these circumstances, we were able, within a short period, to build a solid material-technical base to implement our social and cultural policy. This material-technical base is enabling us to create a modern system of child care, to develop health protection, education, culture, recreation activities, physical culture and sports, and to eliminate the social inequality inherited from the past in this sector.

The social consumption funds have increased at high rates of speed during the last decade. Their absolute volume has increased twice--from a total of 2.420 billion leva in 1970 and 5.5 billion leva in 1980.

This is a great success for our humanitarian policy, which considers nothing more valuable than care for man. (applause)

Along with this, however, certain negative phenomena and shortcomings have appeared in the creation and use of social consumption funds. We must admit that in certain respects we have overestimated our potential and that now it is necessary to establish a correct correlation between social labor productivity, the national income and the social consumption funds. This is necessary, in order to avoid undermining the principle of material incentive, which is the main and decisive principle of socialism.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS BY NO MEANS CORRECT, IN SOLVING SOCIAL PROBLEMS, TO ELIMINATE ANY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE WORKERS WHO ARE DILIGENTLY WORKING AND THOSE WHO HAVE A CARELESS ATTITUDE TO THEIR WORKING OBLIGATIONS. IN THIS RESPECT, WE MUST TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE MANNER IN WHICH EVERY INDIVIDUAL IS WORKING, ALTHOUGH THE SOCIAL FUNDS FOLLOW THEIR SPECIFIC RULES WHICH SHOULD BE OBSERVED.

What are the characteristic features of the new approach in creating and utilizing the social consumption funds?

IN THE FIRST PLACE during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period the social funds will increase at lower rates of speed, compared to the past, but their ABSOLUTE AMOUNT WILL BE GREATER because every percentage contains a higher figure than the one of the preceeding period. Thus, whereas in 1970 1 percent of increase was equal to 24 million leva, the increase rate reached 55 million leva in 1980, and will amount to 65 million leva in 1985. During the Eighth 5-Year Plan period the consumption funds will be approximately 9 billion leva higher than during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period.

IN THE SECOND PLACE, the main and basic element of the new approach consists of the following: Correctly to distribute and decisively to improve the economic and social effectiveness of the utilization of social consumption funds. This is of exceptionally great importance today. The goal of these funds is not to stimulate the people's consumer mentality. Their purpose is to even better contribute to the solution of the workingman's and his family's problems, to improve his education and qualifications, to give him more meaningful daily recreation and to provide for everything that makes working people's efforts more productive and more effective for society as a whole and for the individual.

The new approach that we are now talking about is called upon to increase the economic and social effectiveness of the social consumption funds, to enhance their role as factors that serve as incentives for the people's participation in work and in creative activities. At the same time the new approach is introducing greater justice in distributing social consumption funds.

IN THE THIRD PLACE the main and basic element of the new approach is the creation of conditions to expand the workers collectives initiatives and the initiatives of inhabited settlements in creating and using consumption funds by more frequently involving existing local resources and potential. The new approach must open wider prospects to local leaderships and government organs, economic organizations and workers collectives, in connection with solving the problems of the social, scientific, and cultural sectors in their own lives. For, under the present circumstances, whatever is needed, everyone turns to the state and demands everything from the state. The state must provide money, must provide building workers, must ensure organizational activities, and so forth. Everything applies to the central power, to the planning committee, to the ministries and to the BCP Central Committee. People are fighting for their activities being included in the state plan, for limits and other things; valuable time and efforts are thus being wasted. Under different circumstances and with a different approach people would be able to accomplish much more for themselves, without wasting their time for trips to Sofia, without hanging around in the waiting rooms of Sofia departments.

ALL THESE THINGS DEMAND CLEAR DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE STATE AS A CENTRAL POWER AND THE MISSION OF THE MUNICIPAL AND CONURBATION SYSTEMS AS LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORGANS. Only the basic problems in connection with creating and utilizing public consumption funds, the problems of strategic policy in his area, as well as nationwide measures should apply to the government and its organs. All other things must be the concern, the right and sphere of action of municipalities and of the conurbation systems' leading bodies. That is why financial means must be concentrated within the hands of municipalities, and at the same time they must be granted the right and opportunities to organize economic, cultural, and other activities, the revenues from which will help them to consolidate their own consumption funds. It is high time for plants and all economic units to allocate means from their own special funds, which should be given to the municipalities to satisfy the material and intellectual needs of the population. These plants are working on a certain territory and this is where their collectives live with their own interests and needs for cultural and social life, for recreation, for children's establishments, public services and so forth.

It is necessary to grant broader rights and opportunities to the workers collectives and to their leaderships to solve local sociocultural problems such as the so-called "Social-Daily Life and Cultural Needs" fund, and it is also necessary to link such expenditures to increasing profits. In settling such matters the right must be granted to plant managements and to the agro-industrial complex leaderships to use the services of local scientific and cultural institutions and educational institutions by remunerating them for the work accomplished.

BULGARIAN SCIENCE must even more closely associate itself with the problems of the working people's life. It is the duty of science to concentrate its research work upon labor organization as the main subject of this research work, but also to concentrate upon the organization of the people's daily life, leisure and of the people's life outside their professional activities, as a whole. Science must work out and propagate norms and models of behavior likely to contribute to man's individual development and likely to show man the most efficient and direct methods of a way of life that will bring him happiness and satisfaction, optimism and public respect, a way of life which will make man capable of great deeds in free human labor activities.

BULGARIAN SOCIALIST CULTURE must to an even greater extent go to the factories, fields, farms and to the working people's homes, it must take better care of esthetic qualities in the environment in which people are working and living. Socialist culture must make art and its values a vital necessity for man, a source of vigor and joy of living, and a source of inspiration for work and life.

This new approach calls for specific actions and goals, which we must set for ourselves during the forthcoming period.

IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL POLICY THE MAIN PROBLEM IS THE FURTHER GUARANTEE AND EXPANSION OF SOCIAL SECURITY FOR ALL MEMBERS OF SOCIETY.

The most important concern should continue to be to create the best possible conditions for our young generation to develop. We are facing the general solution of the problem of providing places in children's establishments for all children between the age of 3 and 6 who need such places. We can do this during the current 5-year plan period. The solution of this problem is dictated by the necessity to prepare children for earlier integration into the new system of education.

In order to stimulate the birth rate and the raising within the family of children to the age of 3, it would be expedient, according to our country's potential, to allocate means for the material security of mothers during such a period. Society is gradually taking over the costs for part of the young generation's upbringing and it will create the necessary conditions for better integrating motherhood into women's active participation in professional life and social activities.

During the forthcoming years our socialist state will create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and meaningful life of people who have reached the AGE OF RETIREMENT. We will periodically allocate means for the adaptation of pension to the changing incomes of citizens who are still active in professional life. During this 5-year plan period the lowest pension will increase to the total amount of half a minimum workers' wage. Indemnities for temporary incapability of working people will be increased. The care devoted to citizens in old people's homes will also improve.

Considerable means from our social funds will be allocated for THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH PROTECTION. Such means will be concentrated upon implementing a new upsurge in prophylactic activities, in modernizing the existing medical base, ensuring modern medical equipment and in improving diagnostic and rehabilitation work. The network of prophylactic institutions will expand and the needs for dietetic food will be better satisfied, the number of people who will be provided free medicines will increase. All this and other measures which must be adopted in order to eliminate existing shortcomings in medical services to the population must result in improvement of the people's health and vigor and in a gradual prolongation of life expectancy to its natural limits.

TO ENSURE A HOME FOR EACH FAMILY--is a problem of exceptional importance in our social policy. At least 400,000 housing units must be built during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period.

In housing, distribution priority must be given to young families, so that young men and women who have linked their fates to each other may have their own place, "build their nest," as our popular saying goes. Thus they will have an opportunity to create a family and to bring up their children. We all depend on these conditions, we depend on them as a people and as a nation. Our further task will be to provide one room for each member of a family.

Despite the successes achieved we cannot be satisfied, taking into consideration the existing needs of the population. The BCP Central Committee has adopted measures for the forthcoming year so that the housing problem may find its final solution. We have the necessary production capacities. Obviously a solution must be sought in using the working incomes of the population and the social consumption funds simultaneously. It would be expedient to expand the people's participation in finishing work in housing construction and in furnishing their homes. It is necessary, at the present stage of development, that housing construction should concentrate in the capital--Sofia--above all other places, as well as in the okrug capitals and large industrial centers.

2. On Consistent Implementation of the Party Program for the Development of Science and Education

Comrades, a large portion of the social consumption fund is allocated to the intellectual sphere by the party. It is now a particularly important task to increase the effectiveness of the means allocated for this sphere and to develop it, to constantly enrich the intellectual sphere, to intensify its impact upon economic progress and the other spheres of life and to increase its influence upon the development of the human personality.

The trend toward comprehensive intensification IMMENSELY ENHANCES THE ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SCIENTIFIC SECTOR AND OF NATURAL, TECHNICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES. Today, as never before, the perfection of science as a direct productive force is a lofty duty, obligation and responsibility.

We highly appreciate the noble efforts and achievements of our scientists and technical experts, who are the vanguard of our socialist intelligentsia and who contribute to accelerating technical progress and work for our motherland's material and intellectual prosperity! (applause)

The main requirement for the scientific front during the current 5-year plan period is to ENSURE A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF CRUCIAL PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH IMPLEMENTING COMPREHENSIVE INTENSIFICATION. Scientific achievements must be implemented at a contemporary level. The most outstanding scientific and technical research results must be applied in practical work. In other words, the latest achievements of technology, technical sciences, labor organization, production and management must be applied. This is the task today. We must use the scientific-technical achievements of the most advanced countries to an optimal extent.

At the same time, it is necessary to continue to devote care and attention to developing basic scientific research, which is the theoretical and methodological basis of scientific services to production and management, the basis of developing practical social activities, and an inexhaustible source of strength for our scientific and cultural development. Naturally we will continue to develop the closest cooperation with Soviet scientific institutions. We will continue to rely upon the latest achievements of worldwide scientific thought. We must ever further enhance the role of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in connection with our country's scientific-technical development.

As I have already pointed out, it is necessary to ensure a CHANGE FOR THE BETTER IN INTRODUCING SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN PRACTICAL WORK. The main issue today is to see to it that the period elapsing between a scientific or technical invention and mass production should be as short as possible. The main thing is to apply all new achievements which produce considerable socioeconomic results. In this connection it is necessary to promote a labor organization which ensures an optimally prompt implementation of scientific achievements and which rallies, on a scientific basis, the efforts of all scientific, designing, technological and production links jointly together in a uniform scientific-production process.

It is high time to work out a mechanism of practical application based on the principles of economic incentive, capable of encouraging and forcing the scientific collectives and the consumers of scientific-technical results to apply the latest, contemporary achievements in their work.

The organization of scientific work in our country must decisively improve with a view to the increased needs of social development. We must also perfect the method of applying the sociopolitical principle in the administration of science. For this purpose it would be expedient to hold a CONGRESS OF SCIENCE.

Throughout the forthcoming years we must devote care to a decisive improvement of INFORMATION SERVICES AND, IN PARTICULAR, REGARDING THE UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL INFORMATION. It is necessary to create an actual information industry with links, based on economic cost accounting, which should be entrusted with purchasing, processing, and selling a ready-made information product for practical purposes. They must engage in an intense international exchange and deal in trade with technical, technological and organizational papers, licenses, and so forth, as well as documents connected with engineering services.

The trend toward comprehensive intensification is directly linked to the IMPROVEMENT OF TRAINING AND QUALIFICATIONS OF LEADING CADRES, EXECUTIVE CADRES, AND IN PARTICULAR OF THE YOUNG GENERATION.

Everything we are doing in material production, all our achievements in scientific-technical progress, in labor organizations, in social work, and in the intellectual and cultural spheres, etc, depends on the training of the individual, on his comprehensive personality as a worker and as an intellectual. This training must be adequate to the level of the great task of developing a personality endowed with a communist world outlook and ethics.

The problems of EDUCATION and the tasks of its reorganization were discussed at a special BCP Central Committee plenum in July 1979. At the plenum and at the First National Education Congress a comprehensive program was adopted for a new upsurge of education with a view to achieving the general goal--education and self-assertion of a universally developed personality, in conformity with the needs and interests of our country.

For this reason I will dwell only on a few issues in this report.

The first issue applies to the necessity of ENHANCING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS THEMSELVES IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF THE CADRES' TRAINING. In this connection we also have the task of creating real prerequisites for efficient utilization of these cadres in socialist organizations, for their timely employment and for stopping fluctuation of manpower, as well as for creating conditions of creative development and upsurge.

The second issue applies to a RATIONAL UTILIZATION OF OPPORTUNITIES IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. As is known, we have created a tremendous material-technical and a cadres' potential that is very considerable indeed, taking into account the size of our country. A widely developed network of preschool educational institutions, in which educators, teachers and tutors are engaged, exists in our country. Many of these institutions are equipped with modern technical teaching devices and with facilities for research work. Similar opportunities exist in other spheres of our intellectual life. All this is an invaluable asset. Nevertheless, these opportunities have to be comprehensively used by eliminating all bureaucratic barriers.

The accomplishment of this task demands a better application of the principles of the new economic mechanism in the educational sphere, in conformity with the specific characteristic features of this sector. This will promote the interest of educational institutions in training highly educated and professionally trained cadres, while the subsequent employers of these cadres should ensure all necessary prerequisites for their successful self-assertion. Comrades, if we proceed along this path, the effectiveness of the education system and its social role will be even more enhanced, even more favorable conditions will be created to train cadres for their full self-assertion in practical life.

THE PARTY HIGHLY APPRECIATES THE NOBLE AND HIGHLY PATRIOTIC WORK OF TEACHERS, OF ALL THOSE ENGAGED IN THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SECTOR, AND CALLS UPON THEM TO WORK WITH THE SAME SELFLESS DEVOTION AS BEFORE FOR THE TRAINING AND EDUCATION OF OUR YOUNG GENERATION, TO ENHANCE THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL STANDARDS FOR THE SAKE OF COMMUNISM, FOR THE SAKE OF OUR SOCIALIST MOTHERLAND'S FURTHER PROSPERITY. (applause)

3. For a New Upsurge of Socialist Arts and Culture

Comrades,

The BCP Central Committee considers the period under review a particularly fruitful one in the development of Bulgarian culture. The tremendous social opportunities of culture have been revealed. This is only possible, of course, when culture is understood as an active factor to comprehensively develop the individual and collectives and for the communist education of the masses. The assertion of the social-state principle in the leadership of intellectual life, the establishment of a comprehensive system of elected Council for Cultural Affairs and of school boards of trustees in the educational sector has seen to it that the party's concern for the intellectual education of the socialist individual is no longer the concern of the individual, of the family, the school and of cultural institutions alone, but has become the concern of all society.

We can say that the cultural complex we have built has even more fully revealed the tremendous intellectual potential of our artistic and creative intelligentsia, of the creative unions, of cultural institutions, social organizations, and of the entire people. The cultural and arts sector is already more successfully coping with cultural tasks in our country and abroad, which are steadily expanding in their scope and their complexity, and is doing so from consistent class-party positions. The BCP Central Committee highly appreciates the successes achieved in implementing the comprehensive programs on nationwide esthetic education and on the harmonious development of the individual. Bulgarian culture is making a worthy contribution to enhancing our motherland's international prestige. (applause)

The achievements in the artistic interpretation of our socialist reality are considerable. The subjects of creative art have expanded. Despite certain failures and uncertainties in the search for correct solutions the trend to increase artistic mastership, innovation, variety and expansion of all gifts and talents of the socialist creative artist as the free poet of his time and as an inspired fighter for great ideals, has asserted itself.

The care devoted to separating the "wheat from the chaff" in this important sector of social life, which is a part of party work, is becoming increasingly important. The creative artists receive the necessary professional evaluation from literary critics and art experts. However, we cannot say that our critical work is at the necessary level, that it is accomplishing its responsible task in an adequate manner. It is necessary to speak and write with greater daring and to adopt a more principled attitude in cases in which class evaluation is missing and when certain works of art underrate the intellectual personality of our contemporary citizens in describing them, or when the historical outlook is missing, or when the artist is lost in petty events of the day and does not look at the great and essential things in life. We should never forget that a work of art, a hero of literature, can exert a lasting impression on a young person, influencing his whole life and guiding his aspirations for the future. We should not forget that works of art can inspire people of all generations as fighters and creative personalities, permeated by lofty ideas and immaculate moral values.

It is also necessary to devote greater care to the class-party education and professional training of young creative artists. In this respect, the okrug party and state leading bodies can assume their share of responsibility in addition to the creative unions, and the Central Committee of the Komsomol.

The BCP Central Committee evaluates the upsurge of socialist intellectual culture as one of the basic laws in building mature socialism. If we accept the concept that man is the chief exponent of culture, then we must admit that culture is always and everywhere present through man, and that it influences all things.

We must be clearly aware of the fact that the future of our motherland depends on the multiplication of man's personal qualities, upon his constant self-perfection as a citizen, worker and creative person.

The party is assigning the task of applying the economic approach in the non-production spheres of social development also. It is a new task and in this respect we are proceeding along new paths. Our society will continue to increase the total volume of social funds. However, that by no means signifies that it will rely only upon them. The application of the economic approach and of its mechanism in the cultural sector must not be interpreted as a mechanical transfer of rules and tenets borrowed from the economic sector for the sphere of culture. The task is to create prerequisites for an optimal effect and to obtain results from the investments which society allocates to the development of culture. Thus, we must behave in this case like sensible creative workers, like efficient administrators, and like people aware of their own responsibility. We should not forget that profits in the field of culture are being evaluated with complicated and numerous criteria, that they have long-term effects which are sometimes equal to the social role played by entire generations. The question of the economic approach in the cultural sphere is twofold. On the one hand, social and material progress are prerequisites for the development of culture; on the other hand, culture is a condition of primary importance for material and social progress. This concept implements the unity of the ideological, creative-artistic, educational, esthetic and economic functions of culture.

These are the reasons demanding a reorganization in the style of work in the cultural sector, an improvement of artistic-creative and comprehensive effectiveness in this sphere, in which it is inadmissible to waste the people's money, just like in any other sphere. The leaders and cultural institutions and the creative unions must all be aware of the necessity of reorganizing their work on the basis of the economic approach and of the economic mechanism. At the same time we must remind the cultural workers and the respective state and economic organs that the party will not allow that wrongly understood economic interests and selfish greed for profits to be responsible for violating any artistic-creative and class-party requirements as regards the essence and style of culture, whose main task has been and remains irrevocable--namely the education of profoundly convinced communist personalities. The economic approach in culture has no other goal than to increase the effectiveness of cultural life; to intensify the work of cultural institutions, to fortify the material base of culture so that it may more fully serve all people, regardless of the administrative jurisdiction of each cultural institution. The opportunities of artistic amateur activities must expand even more. The goal is to prevent promoting worthless, poor quality and insignificant works of art by all means, not only by means of artistic-creative and party leadership criteria, not only by means of art and literary criticism, but also by means of economic measures.

The main attention in the field of literature, theater, cinema, figurative arts, music, architecture and literary criticism must be directed toward further improvement of the ideological and artistic standards of creative works, toward the creation of works likely, with their profound socialist meaning and national originality, to assume a lasting universally human significance. Literature and arts must even more strongly contribute to increasing the people's irreconcilability towards deviations from the socialist way of life, they must contribute to consolidating the people's faith in communist truth. Literature and arts are requested, more than ever, to educate the citizens of our country as convinced patriots and internationalists, with an active approach to international problems and to the struggle of progressive and peace-loving forces in the world against imperialism and reaction.

Bulgarian culture, which in recent years has widely expanded on the international scene, will continue to implement active contacts with peoples throughout world. The main demand, however, is to implement with greater elan the comprehensive drawing closer together between Bulgarian and Soviet culture and to expand mutual enriching and cooperation with the cultural sectors of the socialist countries. This is a process which will become the more active, the greater the upsurge of Bulgarian national, socialist culture becomes.

The BCP Central Committee is firmly convinced that our creative and artistic intelligentsia, even more closely rallied around the April plenum policy of the party, will continue to increase our people's intellectual wealth, that it will even more contribute to our people's struggle in building mature socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. (applause)

Comrades,

In pointing out the great role of the social consumption funds WE BY NO MEANS ARE UNDERRATING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE'S INCOME OBTAINED FROM THE WORKING WAGES ACCORDING TO THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF THE EFFORTS THAT HAVE BEEN INVESTED. THE BCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS STRESSED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT IN THE FUTURE, AS IT IS TODAY, WORKERS WAGES WILL REMAIN THE MAIN INCENTIVE FOR THE PEOPLE'S LABOR ACTIVITIES AND FOR IMPROVING THEIR LIVING STANDARD.

In conformity with the new economic approach, during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period the workers wages obtained in coordination with the quality and quantity of labor invested will increasingly assert themselves as a basic form and source of increasing THE WORKING PEOPLE'S REAL INCOMES which WILL INCREASE BY 3 PERCENT ON THE ANNUAL AVERAGE. The average annual net worker's wages will increase from 2,185 leva in 1980 to 2,500 leva in 1985, and the minimum monthly wages will respectively increase from 100 to 120 leva.

The increased incomes of the population demand A RAPID INCREASE IN THE QUANTITY OF THE EXISTING GOODS AND SERVICES AND IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR QUALITY AND VARIETY. This is not all. During the forthcoming period it will be necessary that the increase of funds and services should exceed the rate of growth of the population's purchasing power.

AS WE SEE, COMRADES, WE WILL CONSIDERABLY ADVANCE IN COVERING THE MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL POLICY. HOWEVER, WE WILL DO THIS IN A NEW WAY, ON THE BASIS OF MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE METHODS FOR THE BENEFIT OF SOCIETY AS A WHOLE AND FOR EVERY INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN. (APPLAUSE) THIS WILL BE THE MAIN AND DETERMINING FACTOR OF OUR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL POLICY, IN CREATING AND USING THE SOCIAL CONSUMPTION FUNDS DURING THE FORTHCOMING PERIOD. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GOAL OF DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE SCIENCES AND CULTURE, OF THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARD WILL BECOME AN EVEN STRONGER FACTOR IN THE ACCELERATED CONSTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF MATURE SOCIALISM.

Nothing is free in this world; nothing can be taken for granted. In order to consume more we must produce more material and intellectual values. The BCP Central Committee appeals to our glorious workers class, to the agricultural laborers, to the people's intelligentsia, to the communists, and to all working people: YOU MUST WORK EVEN MORE CONSCIENTIOUSLY AND WITH GREATER DISCIPLINE. YOU MUST PRESERVE AND INCREASE SOCIALIST PROPERTY--WHICH IS THE VERY BASIS OF THE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING. YOU MUST CONSTANTLY MULTIPLY THE MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL VALUES OF OUR MOTHERLAND! (stormy, prolonged applause).

IV. On Perfecting the Political System and on the Further Development of Socialist Democracy

Comrades,

One of the basic trends in the party's work during the period under review was the consolidation, development and perfection of the political system, the expansion of socialist democracy.

Our political system has been developing for the last 10 years in conformity with the basic tenets and demands of the party program on building a developed socialist society and of the new Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria which embodies and expresses real humanitarianism and democracy which are characteristic of our socialist system.

Under the leadership of the BCP--the backbone of the political system--all organs of the people's power have increased and developed their activities, including the National Assembly, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the ministries and the peoples councils. Just as have the SUPREME ORGANS, the LOCAL ORGANS also used the new forms of consolidating direct links with the people. They concentrated their work upon the most important tasks of building socialism and devoted themselves to the permanent concern for resolving the problems of the population. The Bulgarian National Agrarian Union as well as the SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, such as the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Komsomol and other organizations considerably enhanced their role in the country's administration. The control over the activities of various organs and administrative links has improved.

THE STATE-SOCIAL AND THE SOCIAL-STATE PRINCIPLE in the management of cultural affairs, science and education, as well as in control activities has ASSERTED ITSELF. This is already expressed in the administration of the production sphere. At the beginning of 1979 we established the national agro-industrial union and in 1980 we marked the beginning of the creation of an economic association as a voluntary union of manufacturers. The counterplan is becoming an exceptionally efficient form of involving working people in national economic leadership. The Leninist tenet that the plan is the product of millions of people engaged in the production of material values and intellectual assets is increasingly becoming true.

Each success and each step forward in perfecting the organization and functioning of the political system have one common denominator. They are expressing and at the same time powerfully contributing to the expansion and perfection of socialist democracy.

During this period the leading role of the BCP constantly strengthened and was enhanced. THE PARTY PRECISELY IS THAT LEADING FORCE WHICH GUARANTEES THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. At the same time, the expansion of socialist democracy has increased the party's strength because, in our ideological concepts and in our political practice, democracy means intensifying relations between the party and the people, close cohesion of the workers class, of the agricultural laborers and of the people's intelligentsia around the party's policy, and enhancing the sociopolitical and working energy of the people, of every Bulgarian citizen, in the struggle to implement this policy.

The Central Committee considered the development of the political system not just as a problem of the organizational and technological perfection of its organs' administration. IT IS, ABOVE ALL, A PROBLEM OF PERFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL RELATIONS IN OUR COUNTRY. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL UNITY, THEIR COHESION AROUND THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S POLICY AND THE HISTORICAL GOALS AND INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS CLASS, AS WELL AS THE INCREASE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND WORKING EFFORTS--THIS IS THE HIGHEST CRITERION. IT IS OUR MEASURING STICK FOR THE SUCCESSES ACHIEVED AND IT IS OUR METHOD OF EVALUATING THE EXTENT OF DEVELOPMENT OF PERFECTION OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM.

As Marxist-Leninists we are guided by the understanding that the development of the political system is determined by quantitative and qualitative changes in the material-technical basis, by developing the socio-class structure. We understand that the political relations reflect and express the existing socioeconomic relations in society. At the same time we are well aware of the fact that the reverse, active impact of the political superstructure upon the basis can be effectively implemented only if the perfection of the political system not only passively reflects the state of the basis, but if it is being reorganized in a manner so as to contribute to the necessary changes that must logically take place at the basis in the future. THAT IS WHY THE MEASURES WE WILL BE ADOPTING IN THE FIELD OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM MUST PRIMARILY BE AIMED AT ELIMINATING OBSTACLES AND AT ENSURING FULL EXPANSION TO IMPLEMENT OUR STRATEGY. We need such changes in the political system, which are likely to perfect it in conformity with the qualitatively new tasks and conditions during the present period of our country's socioeconomic development.

What does this mean, to put it more precisely?

In the first place our political system must be consistently and entirely based UPON THE SOLID FOUNDATIONS OF THE UNIFORMITY OF INTERESTS OF SOCIETY, OF THE COLLECTIVES AND OF INDIVIDUAL WORKING PEOPLE. These interests are being coordinated so as to stimulate the manifestation of the leading force in our society--the social labor initiative and activity of the workers collectives and of all individual workers. Along this path, precisely, we must look for a solution to the contradiction between the great material-technical base existing in our country, which is considerable indeed--compared to the size of our country--and the incomplete and inefficient utilization of the base. It is a fact, comrades, that the majority of our machine pool is not being sufficiently used and that hundreds of thousands of hectares of land remain uncultivated, that organizational-administrative misunderstandings and manifestations of bureaucratic methods in many places and in many cases are impeding efficient progress of work. Such manifestations exist in other spheres outside the economic sector as well. Wherever we look, however, we see that man is behind such facts, that the executive, the leader, the individual worker or the collective are responsible for such facts.

The opportunities of city people to participate in the development of agriculture are not being used. A large working potential of people of retirement age is left idle. Many of these people could, with a reduced working day, and thanks to other facilities, make themselves useful, not only in material production, but in other spheres as well. The talents and potentials of thousands of technical workers for organized participation in the public service system during their recreation hours is not being used. The work of specialists and scientific workers is not sufficiently effective either, although it is so necessary and essential for our time, etc.

It is necessary, in the second place, to most strictly take into account THE COMMODITY-MONETARY CHARACTER OF OUR SOCIALIST ECONOMY. The application of the new economic approach and of the new economic mechanism, basing each production and social activity upon economic cost-accounting and self-sufficiency, labor remuneration depending upon the final result, improvement of counterplanning, and so forth--all these things consolidate the economic foundations of socialist democracy and create new prerequisites for the development and functioning of the entire political system.

In the third place, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIO-CLASS STRUCTURE AND OF THE SOCIALIST PERSONALITY HAS ADVANCED AND IS PLACING NEW REQUIREMENTS ON THE ACTIVITIES OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM. The role of the workers class as a leading force of our society, and as the majority of the population, is being enhanced. Serious changes have occurred in working conditions, in the consciousness and daily life of the working people in rural areas. Great progress has been achieved in eliminating essential differences between industrial and agricultural labor and between life in towns and villages. The role of the people's intelligentsia has considerably enhanced and economic and political activities, educational training and the general cultural standards of the workingman have increased. All these changes HAVE CREATED A NEW SOCIAL ATMOSPHERE AND A NEW SOCIAL CLIMATE. THE MAIN, DECISIVE FACTOR IN THIS NEW ATMOSPHERE IS THE ENHANCED FEELING OF RESPONSIBLILITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND OF THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE TO DEVELOP AND MANAGE OUR STATE AND SOCIETY.

The Bulgarian citizen, our people, are well aware of their right to adopt decisions and to govern. Such awareness is one of the greatest assets of socialism. It demands from us TO EVEN MORE BROADLY EXPAND THE INITIATIVE AND THE ROLE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND OF THE MASSES IN THE ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM.

In the fourth place, we as communists CANNOT FAIL TO NOTICE A NUMBER OF SHORTCOMINGS AND MISTAKES IN THE ACTIVITIES OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM. These shortcomings and mistakes are resulting in excessive regimentation in the work of our lower echelon organs and links and in manifestations of bureaucracy, sluggishness, lack of responsibility in implementing adopted decisions, and in insufficient but mainly delayed control, and so forth. In addition to this our entire political system needs higher efficiency and, particularly, it needs reduction of costs, reduction of social expenditures for its maintainance and functioning.

What should be done and what is the main factor in the changes we intend to carry out?

The creative, constructive forces of our people as a whole and of each individual in particular--is the unexhaustible potential of our society and we will rely upon that potential in perfecting our political system. For, its changes can have only one meaning--IN EACH WORKING PLACE, IN EVERY INHABITED SETTLEMENT, IN EVERY ORGANIZATIONAL-ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT THE PARTICIPATION OF WORKING PEOPLE IN THE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS AND IN ACCOMPLISHING THE EXISTING TASKS IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION, THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF EACH WORKER MUST BE DEVELOPED AND A NEW UPSURGE AND EXPANSION OF HIS CREATIVE FORCES MUST BE ACHIEVED. (applause)

In turn, this requires above all to perfect and enhance the PARTY'S POLITICAL APPROACH AND THE POLITICAL APPROACH OF THE SOCIALIST STATE IN ADOPTING DECISIONS AND IN IMPLEMENTING THEM.

Today, under the conditions of the new economic approach and of its mechanism, the main method of administration and of coping with economic tasks lies in applying the ECONOMIC LEVERS AND MECHANISMS. Does this lead to enhancing the working people's activities, to increasing their incentives?

Yes, it does, because in many places the obstacles have not been eliminated, obstacles which are making the activity of working people difficult and are obstructing their self-initiative. The rights of basic links in production are not sufficient. They are frequently being given incorrect instructions by the superior organs of the economic or state leading bodies, as well as by individual leaders. This has often resulted in violating the demands of economic efficiency and effectiveness. It is even worse, when it impedes the self-initiative of the worker, of the workers collectives and of their leaderships.

IT IS NECESSARY TO ADOPT A POLITICAL APPROACH WHICH GUARANTEES THE INVIOLABILITY OF THE RIGHTS OF LOW ECHELON COLLECTIVES AND LINKS, AND OF THE WORKING INDIVIDUAL, AGAINST THE ATTEMPTS OF BUREAUCRATIC REGEMENTATION AND ARBITRARY DECISIONS COMING FROM HIGHER PLACED AUTHORITIES.

What does this political approach mean?

This approach means above all to ENHANCE THE LEADING ROLE OF THE BCP TO A QUALITATIVELY NEW DEGREE IN THE COMPREHENSIVE ACTIVITIES OF OUR SOCIETY'S POLITICAL SYSTEM.

This means enhancing the role of the party, or party organs and organizations, and of each party member in working out, discussing and socially asserting the basic trends in the development of the activities of the political system as a whole, and of each of its organs individually. The collective intellect of the party must be much better applied. The party's rich intellectual and ideological potential should be much better used.

This further means DECISIVELY IMPROVING PARTY CONTROL OVER THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANS AND INSTITUTIONS REPRESENTING THE POLITICAL POWER AND SYSTEM. Our party, from the Central Committee down to every single party organization, respects self-initiative and independence in the work of state, economic and social organs and organizations. We are struggling against manifestations of substituting and duplicating functions, against the attempts of party committees and party leaders to take over the functions, activities and rights of state and social organs. We must do away once and for all with such manifestations and attempts. After we have discussed and adopted the basic trends in the activities of organs and institutions of the political system within the party, OUR MAIN TASK WILL AND MUST BE TO EXERT CONTROL AND RENDER ASSISTANCE. ASSISTANCE AND CONTROL—THESE ARE THE ESSENTIALS. CONTROL MUST BE INTELLIGENT AND PERSPICACIOUS. IT MUST BE CAREFUL AND PERMANENT, AND ABOVE ALL IT MUST BE A PREVENTIVE PARTY CONTROL OVER THE ACTIVITIES OF DIFFERENT ORGANS AND INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR LEADING CADRES. (applause)

It is high time to eliminate once and for all relapses into the habit of adopting decisions and not fulfilling them, to do away with violations of socialist legality and order on the part of certain leading organs and functionaries. PARTY CONTROL IS THE MAIN GUARANTEE FOR THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM AND FOR THE CONSISTENT PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.

Comrades, what are the most essential changes which this political approach must produce, which the perfection of our political system must result in?

FIRST, WE MUST FIND A BETTER SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF MAN'S PROGRESS AT THE SAME WORKING PLACE. Our party's policy of promoting workers and agricultural laborers, the working people in all organs and at all levels of political power, is a class policy. It is a correct policy. This policy will continue to develop as one of the mainstays of our political system. However, we cannot say that every worker and agricultural laborer, that every working citizen must pursue as his main goal in life the development of his career along the vertical line of social hierarchy. At the same time we cannot ask him to stand still and deprive himself of his personal development. We cannot deprive him of personal progress achieved by his own efforts and talents. Every workingman must have the guarantee of the opportunity to make progress in the same working place and at the same level, and this progress can be expressed through an increase of his material remuneration, or under the form of his participation in public life. (applause) This individual progress must depend upon the quantity and quality of man's work in serving the interests and goals of society.

Along with this, we are obliged to find more flexible and more just organizational-political solutions, IN ORDER TO MAKE THE WORKING MAN'S SELF-ASSERTION MORE VARIED AND MORE EFFECTIVE.

Why should a worker and his family not participate in various forms of agricultural work in their spare time? Why should a technician not work in an enterprise for public services, after his regular working hours? Why should a pensioner or a student not be able to work 2 of 4 hours, if they cannot work 8 hours? The questions are numerous and they all apply to THE EXPANSION OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR SELF-ASSERTION OF MAN THROUGH HIS WORK, AND PRIMARILY THROUGH HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE MATERIAL SPHERE. In his "Criticism of the Gotha Program" Karl Marx clearly defined labor under socialism as an equalizing standard and a uniform criterion for measuring those who are not equal and who do not possess equal qualitites. Our political system guarantees equal opportunity to each worker, an equal right to measure his contribution as regards the quality and quantity of the labor invested. Whoever works more and better, and produces better results, obtains a higher remuneration, a greater public recognition. What could be better, more socialist and more democratic than workers and agricultural laborers who are earning ministers' wages. (applause)

THE SECOND, DECISIVE FACTOR IS TO RESTRICT REGIMENTATION AND TO LIQUIDATE THE TUTELAGE OF MORE HIGHLY PLACED ORGANS AS REGARDS THOSE WHO ARE SUBORDINATE TO THEM. On the other hand, we must expand the rights and intensify the initiatives and activities of all links and at all levels of our political system. It is particularly important TO ENHANCE THE RIGHTS AND INCREASE THE MATERIAL STRENGTH OF THE LOW ECHELON LINKS IN THE ECONOMIC AND STATE-POLITICAL STRUCTURE. I am talking about plants, institutions, conurbation systems, district leaderships in Sofia and in other cities. The process of producing material and intellectual assets is taking place in these links. The people's life proceeds there, as does the life of the collective. In these links the problems of individuals and the people as a whole are being practically solved. Therefore it is necessary to provide these links with strong leadership and with ample material opportunities for self-initiative an independent action. These links must be granted the right to organize various forms of economic and social activities to the advantage of their collectives, upon the basis of public interest. They must be able to organize auxiliary and additional production enterprises, workshops and public service premises, as well as repair workshops and auxiliary farms in the villages, and so forth. We must grant the opportunity to the municipalities to obtain, at favorable conditions, considerable loans from the banks for organizing production-economic and service activities which might enable them to cope with problems and cover the needs of the local population. Perhaps it would be correct to exempt such municipal activities of taxes, and to grant them the profits from such activities for their own further development.

THIRD, it is necessary to take measures FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY, FOR INTENSIFYING THE INITIATIVE AND ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE WORKERS COLLECTIVE IN THE ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. We must considerably expand the rights and opportunities of low echelon workers collectives, brigades and individual economic units so that they may solve the questions of production, labor organization and the collective's social life. In this connection we must enhance even more the role of the ECONOMIC COUNCILS IN ORGANIZATIONS, OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEES IN ENTERPRISES AND OF THE GENERAL WORKERS MEETINGS. Their activities must become more meaningful, adequate to the increased rights and enhanced responsibilities of the economic units. Just like the above mentioned organs, the individual workers must be aware of and respect the decisions of economic councils, economic committees and general workers meetings, because they express the opinions, interests and stands of the collective.

Along with this, we must take into consideration the fact, that under the conditions of the new economic approach and its mechanism, the role of economic compulsion is being enhanced. Without such compulsion we cannot exist under the conditions of socialism, compulsion must be applied. However, it has a significance and plays its role only when the opposite pole exists--the unmistakable and understandable, the clearly defined pole of INCENTIVE, both the material and moral incentive.

Along with enhancing the role of material incentives, along with the emphasis placed on material interest and responsibility, we should by no means underestimate the role and importance of MORAL INCENTIVES. Our party always has, at every stage of its development, considered and will consider material and moral incentives in their dialectical unity. The very essence of the material incentive already contains a tremendous ideological, political and moral potential. The intellectual participation of each member of a collective in the common cause, his consciousness and awareness that he is personally contributing to the building of mature socialism--all this of tremendous importance.

Today it is necessary to go further in ensuring a field of action for economic organizations' management. The mutual relations of these organizations with the state must be implemented primarily on an economic basis. We must definitely get rid of the habit that state organs assign unfeasible planning tasks to the economic organizations, and as a result of this, through subsequent corrections of the indexes, that they should actually cover up for their unjustified decisions.

FOURTH, in order to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of social management, we must now take the following important facts into consideration:

--We must ensure the prevailing effects of the organic coordination of political and economic methods and means of leadership by promoting a decisive struggle against administrative-bureaucratic methods of work;

--The principle of collectiveness must be most strictly observed;

--The strictest discipline must be introduced and personal responsibility in the work of cadres in administrative organs must be enhanced.

Work in connection with INFORMING THE PEOPLE'S MASSES, AS WELL AS IN CONNECTION WITH STUDYING THEIR OPINIONS is assuming great political importance today. The Bulgarian citizen has the right to be regularly informed about the activities of state and economic organs. The socialist state is strong in the awareness of the masses, as Lenin stated. We will not be naive. There are things which are and will remain state secrets. However, this is only a small part of state affairs, and state secrets are placed under reliable party control. Any other things are not and cannot be secrets for our country's citizens.

At the same time, it is not a normal state of affairs that a worker should know all about the situation in the country and about events abroad, but know very little about the activities of his plant's management. It is high time for the leading organs to begin to report periodically about their work to the general meetings of the collectives, and to local meetings in conurbation systems.

PUBLIC OPINION research must be essentially improved, especially as regards reaction to various measures which the state and economic organs are intending to adopt. Let us suppose that an important question concerning the life of a city, a village, or a workers collective is to be resolved, a question which concerns everyone. In many cases only the leading bodies deal with this question. To ask people for their opinion is not merely a matter of politeness. It means involving the working people in the process of the solution, in the management of production and in the leadership of society, just as Lenin demanded.

Public opinion research, listening to the working people's criticism and taking their demands into consideration is one of the most important trends in the development of socialist democracy. This must become the permanent concern of political organs in our state: To build a vast system of forms and methods, including local referendums on important problems of the conurbation systems. In this connection, it would be expedient to consider the possibilities that some projects on developing an inhabited settlement or conurbation system should be published and submitted to public discussion by a group of experts who have worked them out, without committing in advance the competence of the local party and state organs.

FIFTH, IT IS NECESSARY TO ACCOMPLISH A NEW STEP FORWARD IN THE WORK OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM'S ORGANS WITH CADRES.

In this field we have truly achieved great successes. Within our country and abroad, the wealth and experience of the cadres potential are inspiring confidence in our country as a state and political power, and in the Bulgarian people as leaders, specialists and partners. Along with the gratitude which we owe to the thousands of loyal, gifted cadres, who are devoted to the party and the people's cause, we are obliged to become aware of the necessity for progress in this respect.

Above all we must perfect the forms and methods of selecting leading cadres. Without generally acknowledged political, businesslike and moral qualities, without a special education and political training, no one can or must assume a leading position. This is not all. It is necessary to devote greater attention to the social, organizational and personal experience of the man who is being appointed to leading work. We cannot promote someone who has never worked among the rank and file working people of our society. We cannot appoint someone who is not acquainted with the difficulties and peculiarities of work in the lower echelons of the political structure. On the other hand, we must remove from leading positions all those people who have not proved capable of satisfactorily implementing their functions as organizers and leaders, all those who have lost their ideological and moral image as political leaders of a socialist type. (prolonged applause)

At the same time, we should by no means forget one of the basic principles of state and economic activities under socialism--the PRINCIPLE OF ONE-MAN COMMAND. The development of democracy must be coordinated with the consolidation of the rights and competence of the leader.

A careful, comradely approach toward our leading cadres must be displayed. Assistance must be accorded to these people, who with principled, selfless loyalty and a lofty sense of responsibility toward the party and people are accomplishing their duties at the posts entrusted to them.

Particular attention and care are necessary in SELECTING AND TRAINING LEADING CADRES FROM THE CIRCLES OF NONPARTY PEOPLE. Let us not forget that in our country there are hundreds of thousands of men and women, who with their world outlook and moral qualities, can honestly and courageously be called nonparty communists. Let us not forget that many of them are among the most highly educated, active members of our society. Generally speaking, it is necessary to open even more vast opportunities to the leading organs, to every worker, agricultural laborer and specialist who has proved his loyalty to the communist cause, and his professional and human qualities.

SIXTH, IT IS NECESSARY TO ADOPT SERIOUS MEASURES FOR ENHANCING THE SOCIAL ROLE AND POSITION OF ORGANS AND INSTITUTIONS DEALING WITH SOCIAL CONTROL. We have many cases when just laws, decisions and instruction are not observed and sometimes even violated, as a result of which the interests of the lower echelon links and individual citizens suffer and are affected. Perhaps recently the number of normative instructions has increased excessively, and they should be reduced and simplified in order to grant the opportunity to more creatively resolve the questions of the low echelon leaders. However, once adopted these instructions must be implemented by everyone, by all people. These instructions must be strictly, accurately and timely implemented. Therefore the organs of the party, state and social control must see to an intensification of the control functions of all organs in our political system. A truly NATIONWIDE CONTROL is necessary which is likely to ensure implementing the tasks that have been assigned and to create an atmosphere of intolerance toward violations of discipline, encroachments on citizens rights as well as all attempts whatsoever to fail observing the socialist law.

Comrades,

On the basis of such basic trends, aimed at perfecting our political system, we must also resolve certain more specific questions connected with the work of this system's organs.

It is necessary to ENHANCE THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND ITS DEPUTIES in order to create conditions for their more active participation in preliminary preparations of the issues submitted to the discussion and decision of our parliament. It is important to improve the control functions of the National Assembly as regards the government as a whole and individual ministries in particular.

This is why it would be expedient to establish an even broader and more dynamic practice of the ministries' assessing their work before parliamentary commissions and discussing with them the most important projects in their sphere. This applies to the government itself.

Greater care is needed to enhance the role of the National Assembly deputy in the life of the working people and in the work of the organs of our political system. We must be aware of the fact that every citizen has his representative in the National Assembly, and that he can appeal to him for assistance, for defense and for his rights, as well as for a legitimate and just solution of his problems. At the same time each state organ must feel obliged to give the necessary answer to the National Assembly deputy's questions about any problem concerning his constituent.

THE STATE COUNCIL must even more fully and comprehensively exert its control functions over the activities of central executive organs. It is worth thinking over the question of transferring part of the state control organs to the State Council, which will enable it to more thoroughly and efficiently exert its control over the central executive organs and the observance of laws.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND THE MINISTRIES must innovate their style and methods of work. It is necessary for the COUNCIL OF MINISTERS to devote less time to adopting normative instructions and concentrate its main efforts on organizing and implementing decisions and tasks connected with ensuring an operational functioning of the state, and connected with an improvement of control over the work of its links and departments.

The ministries must concentrate their attention on planning questions, working out prognoses, goal-oriented programs, strategic concepts, scientific-technical progress in the respective branch, and the qualification and requalification of cadres. The ministries must ensure the normative base for the activities of the organization. They must coordinate work and render methodical assistance to the organizations. They must use economic means and incentives for obtaining higher efficiency in the organizations' work.

THE OKRUG ORGANS of the people's government must enhance their role as links in which the problems of the econmy, social life and culture of various areas in our country are being thoroughly and expediently resolved. The role of the okrug organs is enhanced as the main organizer of economic and other forms of cooperation between conurbation systems and their municipal leadership. Their role as coordinators of all-round activities dealing with the needs and interests of the population in a given territory is increasing.

THE CONURBATION SYSTEMS AND THEIR LEADING BODIES--THE NEW MUNICIPALITIES--ARE A NEW AND PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT LINK IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM. All organs, at all levels--party, state, economic and social organs--must concentrate their efforts on consolidating these organs and leading bodies as efficient institutions, capable of solving local problems of the individual citizen and of people in the inhabited settlements, with strong material and organizational rights and possibilities.

The party is doing much to enhance the role of the PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE in social life. The public prosecutor's offices have greatly contributed to enhancing the prestige of socialist Bulgaria as a developed, constitutionally governed state. It is high time to perfect the activities of the prosecutor's offices and comprehensively consolidate their independence, as well as to guarantee that no attempt at interference into their work on the part of the executive power organs will be made. The decisive factor is to introduce a new method of appointing and relieving judges of their duties which will guarantee their independence at the level upon which they are working.

An important place in the political system of socialism in our country belongs to the BULGARIAN NATIONAL AGRARIAN UNION [BNAU]. During the period under review, as always in the past, we worked in full understanding and cooperation side by side with the BNAU in solving the tasks of building developed socialism in our country, as well as in the struggle for peace on a world scale. The BCP highly appreciates the relations of cohesion and unity of action with the fraternal BNAU, as an exceptionally important factor for the development and functioning of our political system. [paragraph continues]

These relations are based on solid foundations, and are constantly developing. They can be described as excellent. (applause) We have every reason to envisage an even more active role of the BNAU in our economic and political life, in eliminating shortcomings and weaknesses in our agricultural sector, and in more efficiently solving the problems of self-sufficiency in the conurbation system, as well as in developing private plots.

In connection with developing a new socialist personality, its many-sided self-assertion and for the sake of our country's socialist prosperity, the BCP relies upon the ideological and educational activities of the BNAU. (applause)

The SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, including the scientific-technical union, the committee of the Bulgarian women's movement, the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Committee, the scientific, cultural and sports organizations as well as other associations and organizations must reorganize their work so as to more clearly reflect care for the individual and for the collective. Along with this, the question of recreation must be thought over. The question of our contemporary citizen's activities must be discussed. There are many organizations, but there is only one man. We should never forget the situation of the individual man, who must devote time to his family, and who has the right to have a private life and the right to rest.

In the process of implementing the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress, the FATHERLAND FRONT, as the largest sociopolitical mass organization, is developing and expanding its activities and is implementing important practical tasks for the population and for our country. It is increasingly rallying communists, united agrarians, and nonparty people as well as the entire Bulgarian nation around the party policy.

We expect the Fatherland Front to consolidate its role in linking representative democracy to direct democracy, in widely involving the working masses in the discussion and solution of vital problems concerning our social development. The clubs, sections and organizations of the Fatherland Front must become true sources of competent information about events in our country and abroad. Higher criteria must determine activities concerning self-sufficiency, organizing and implementing public control, collecting secondary raw materials, improving public services for the population, health improvements and developing inhabited settlements, etc. Within the organizations of the Fatherland Front, problems and questions connected with the activities of the economic, state and other institutions and organs must be discussed. Shortcomings that have been allowed to occur must be reacted to in a timely manner during such discussions. The Fatherland Front organizations must be entrusted with many, more responsible functions as regards the people's patriotic education, the study of history and the propagation of knowledge about the present and future of the Bulgarian conurbation systems as sources of patriotic pride.

The BCP has always devoted great care and attention to the work of the BULGARIAN TRADE UNIONS. They have developed and strengthened as a powerful organization of the working people in our country. The majority of our workers are members of the trade unions. They are entrusted with important social functions, which they are successfully implementing, generally speaking. We expect the trade unions to develop decisively and expand their role as organizers and leaders of competition and the people's creative efforts, as a promoting force in the process of counterplanning, and as defenders of the worker's and collective's interests. They must uncompromisingly struggle against any manifestations of bureaucracy on the part of administrative and economic leaders, against those who are allowing substandard production to occur, and against those who are violating labor and technological discipline. They must struggle for improving the working, daily life and recreation conditions of the working people.

Trade union democracy must be raised to a higher level. This demands, above all, to ensure systematic organization of workers meetings and of production conferences. It is necessary that the trade unions more carefully listen to the workers proposals and that they guarantee public support to initiatives originating with the workers' collectives.

The BCP Central Committee at its plenums and in the letter to the Komsomol Central Committee worked out a comprehensive program on party work about youth at the stage of building developed socialism, and for the purpose of improving the activities of the Komsomol in conformity with the new conditions and tasks.

Our youths have earned great credit in implementing the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan period and in building mature socialism. Loyal to the traditions of their grandfathers and fathers, young people in contemporary Bulgaria are being educated in a socialist spirit and with their deeds, and behavior. They wholeheartedly support the party policy. Our party believes in youth and is unrelentingly devoting care to satisfying their needs and interests, and to guaranteeing their full-fledged working and social self-assertion. This does not mean that there is nothing more to be desired about the work of the Komsomol and of the party organizations and organs as regards the issues of youths. It is no secret that certain young people's behavior is incompatible with socialist education and morality, that there are cases of shunning material production, and so forth. The Komsomol has great political prerogatives, as it has its representatives in the most important leading state organs and it also has its own material and organizational base. Today the Komsomol activities are being reorganized and further developed in implementing the tasks assigned by the letter to the Komsomol Central Committee and by the decisions of the national Komsomol conference.

The party has every reason to expect that this reorganization will result in enhancing the political role of the Komsomol as a leader and organizer of youth, that its role in the education, training and working self-assertion of youths--in their class party-patriotic and internationalist education--will be enhanced. Along with this the Komsomol must reliably guarantee that the problems of every young individual and of all youths collectives will be positively and justly resolved. (applause)

THE COMPLICATED INTERNATIONAL SITUATION DEMANDS FROM US DEVOTING CONSTANT CARE TO CONSOLIDATING OUR COUNTRY'S DEFENSE POWER, ENHANCING THE COMBAT READINESS OF THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S ARMY AND IMPROVING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ORGANS.

Thanks to the care and attention of the party and to the persevering efforts of soldiers and commanders, the Bulgarian People's Army has developed as a modern armed force, equipped with up-to-date technical means, with brilliant soldiers' mastership and with indestructible morale. The service in the Armed Forces has become a remarkable school of ideological-political, moral and physical tempering for the young generation, as a school of manly courage and heroism, as a school for the education of worthy patriots and internationalists, of vigilant defenders of the motherland and enthusiastic builders of socialism. The Bulgarian soldiers, in combat unity and side by side with the soldiers of the invincible Soviet Army, with the soldiers of the armies of the other socialist countries--which are members of the Warsaw Pact treaty--are unshakably standing on guard watching over the borders of the motherland and over the people's socialist achievements and their peaceful labor. (prolonged applause)

The organs of the Ministry of Interior are worthily responding to the party's and people's care and rewarding us for this care. These are people who watch over the security, peaceful life and safety of the Bulgarian citizens.

The party will continue to perfect its leadership and to enhance the leading role and influence of the party organizations within the Armed Forces, the state security and the militia organs. We are convinced that THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S ARMY AND THE ORGANS OF THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR WILL IN THE FUTURE SERVE THE PEOPLE, OUR SOCIALIST MOTHERLAND AND THE COMMUNIST IDEAL WITH THE SAME SELFLESS DEVOTION AND AS WHOLEHEARTEDLY AS EVER WITH THE SAME MANLY COURAGE AS IN THE PAST. (prolonged applause)

Comrades, these are some of the basic trends in perfecting our political system so that it may more fully conform to the new tasks and requirements.

WE APPEAL TO THE COMMUNISTS, AS WELL AS TO ALL CITIZENS, MORE ACTIVELY AND ON A LARGER MASS SCALE, TO PARTICIPATE IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT AND IN SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO IT THAT OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM MAY BECOME MORE EFFECTIVE AND MORE FLEXIBLE, SO THAT SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN OUR COUNTRY MAY EXPAND AND FURTHER DEVELOP. (stormy and prolonged applause)

V. On the State and Tasks of the Party

Comrades,

Our party is coming to the 12th BCP Congress rallied around the general Leninist line of the April plenum, being clearly aware of its main theoretical problems, having acquired a new great experience accumulated during the last decade. Our party has achieved a greater capability of successfully leading the building of mature socialist in all spheres of life. (applause)

The ACCOUNTABILITY-ELECTION CONFERENCES AND MEETINGS were a bright expression of these facts. They proceeded in an atmosphere of lofty political activities and in businesslike spirit. Thus, for example, the accountability-election meetings of the basic party organizations heard the statements of more than 220,000 communists. Over 112,000 proposals and criticism were submitted to them. Irreconcilability to shortcomings and weaknesses, competent treatment of problems, the resolve to struggle to implement party tasks--these were the main characteristic features of the reports and statements at the aforementioned meetings and conferences. The party's Marxist-Leninist maturity expressed itself in the PREPARATION OF THE CONGRESS itself. The character of the tasks which the party is accomplishing at the present stage demanded the opinions of millions of people in our country on them. The Central Committee addressed the communists and all working people on this issue. The debates on the draft theses for the 12th BCP Congress once more confirmed our people's vital interest in the success of party initiatives. The preparation of the congress became a partywide and nationwide task.

We are now fully justified in stating THE THESES WHICH THE 12TH BCP CONGRESS WILL ADOPT ARE THE RESULTS OF THE ENTIRE PARTY'S AND OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE'S INTELLECT AND MINDS. This is a guarantee that the struggle to implement the 12th BCP Congress decisions will be the cause of the entire party, the cause of our people.

1. On Further Improving the Party's Qualitative Membership

Comrades,

During the period under review the Central Committee devoted constant care to improving the PARTY'S QUALITATIVE MEMBERSHIP.

THE EXCHANGE OF MEMBERSHIP CARDS played an important role in consolidating our party ranks. Over 800,000 communists were evaluated regarding their political, professional and moral qualities in the presence of and with the participation of all members of party organizations. The overwhelming majority of the communists passed the test. We did not carry out a purge. Despite all this, 38,452 people were expelled from or left the party during the period under review because they do not possess the qualities or have forfeited the right of calling themselves communists. At the same time, 108,065 new members joined the party ranks.

Today our party has 825,876 communists in its ranks. The draft theses are pointing out more detailed data on the membership of the party. They show that the TASK ASSIGNED BY THE 11TH BCP CONGRESS CONSTANTLY TO IMPROVE THE PARTY COMPOSITION QUALITATIVELY ARE BEING SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTED. In this connection I will just mention the fact that among those who joined the party ranks during the period under review 50 percent are workers, 76 percent are under the age of 30, 84 percent have secondary, higher or polytechnical school education. The backbone of the party however is represented by the workers class with its 352,649 members. (applause) The number of party members from decisive industrial branches, such as machine-building industry, metallurgical industry, chemical industry and the construction sector, has continued to increase. The party nucleus in the agricultural sector, in sciences, education and culture is also strongly represented. Our work connected with improving the party's membership raises several questions. In the era of scientific-technical revolution, of comprehensive automation and intellectualization of social labor, serious changes are occurring in our country and continue to occur in the social-class structure of society and in the cultural and professional training of the workers class and of its individual detachments. We must seek, in this respect, a change in the approach and criteria of recruiting new members: WE MUST RECRUIT PARTY MEMBERS FROM THE STRATA OF WORKING PEOPLE WHO HAVE ALREADY ASSERTED THEMSELVES, PEOPLE WHO HAVE EARNED PARTY AND PUBLIC RECOGNITION WITH THEIR NEW QUALITIES--SUCH AS HIGH CULTURAL STANDARDS, PROFESSIONAL TRAINING, POLITICAL MATURITY, AND PRESTIGE AMONG THE PEOPLE. [paragraph continues]

This demands expanding the forms through which public opinion is evaluated in accepting new party members.

An improvement of the quality of the party's composition means ENHANCING PARTY INFLUENCE IN ALL SPHERES OF SOCIAL LIFE, AND NOT ONLY IN SOME IMPORTANT SECTORS. It is necessary to have a stable and active party nucleus in all territories and at all levels of material production. Throughout the whole process, from the scientific idea to the final product, its distribution and consumption, as well as in all promising production branches and in all social activities party members must be present. Only that will provide us with a solid party backbone, for the entire process of intensification of social production, with a strong party influence in every sector of development, with party thought and party responsibility in every manifestation of social life.

In connection with the social aspect of party issues, it is necessary to take into consideration not only the social origins of the new party members, but also their social development, since they joined the party ranks. The previously applied approach in this respect often results in formalism and prevents us from intensifying party influence in certain spheres of decisive importance.

It is necessary to carry out in the future a policy of REJUVENATING THE PARTY and of following continuity of generations in it. Our party is proud of its ideological-political image, of the talents and of the educational standards of its young generation. It is an important task of party organizations and groups to involve the newly recruited communists in a full-fledged organizational life in a timely way. It is necessary to devote systematic care to their training and development, to their revolutionary, class and moral tempering.

I have already dwelled on the party's cadre policy. Now, I would like to say a few words about THE LEADING PARTY CADRES.

Highly educated communists, people with great practical experience, have been elected to the party leadership. Today 91.5 percent of the secretaries of basic party organizations and 83.9 percent of the members of municipal party committees, as well as 88.9 percent of the members of the okrug party committees, are graduates of secondary or higher educational institutions.

The fact that cadres with specialized training are being included in party organs has exerted a positive effect upon improving the competence of party organs. It is significant that 68.2 percent of the secretaries of basic party organizations and 67.3 percent of the okrug party committees' members are engineers, technicians, economic experts, or agricultural specialists.

The policy of MERGING DIFFERENT GENERATIONS OF CADRES is being consistently applied. Over 50 percent of okrug party committee secretaries, 68 percent of municipal party committee secretaries and 66 percent of basic party organizations' secretaries are under the age of 45. This is a great achievement of our cadres' policy. This policy must be pursued in future also. At the same time it is necessary to devote more care so as to enable the young party cadres and those assuming leading party positions who come from other fields of work, to acquire a political approach, a political viewpoint and a political style and methods of work.

Work in connection with the training and preparation of CADRES RESERVES must be pursued. In this respect we should make better use of the Academy of Social Sciences and social administration attached to the BCP Central Committee, which must become a center of post graduate education of leading party, state and economic cadres who have already acquired degrees from other higher educational institutions.

In the storm of the long decades of struggle against fascism and capitalism, in the struggle for the construction of socialism, a strong and indestructible UNITY WAS CREATED BETWEEN LEADERS, THE PARTY, THE WORKERS AND THE PEOPLE. This unity is our invaluable historical achievement, and the party will continue to consider this unity as its basic commitment. It will continue to cherish this as a sacred cause and to constantly consolidate it. (stormy and prolonged applause)

2. On Enhancing the Role and Combat Capability of the Basic Party Organization

Comrades,

Throughout the period following the 11th BCP congress, the party has accomplished considerable theoretical, ideological and practical work. The skill of the party organs and organizations in applying a political approach in the leadership of social activities has improved. The vital, daily relations with the working people have developed, and the influence of basic party organizations in the life of the workers collectives has strengthened. The first positive results in the work of municipal party committees are manifesting themselves. The tasks in connection with perfecting work with cadres, and in connection with their training, are being consistently and unrelentlessly accomplished.

ALL THESE THINGS HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE PARTY'S FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AS A LIVING SOCIAL ORGANISM, AND TO ENHANCING THE PARTY'S ROLE IN BUILDING DEVELOPED SOCIALISM.

The successes achieved oblige us to see shortcomings as well. The main shortcoming in party-organizational work remains not fully utilizing the party's possibilities to guide and transform. Party committees and organizations fail to timely and thoroughly observe the processes of socioeconomic life in okrugs and municipalities. They do not devote sufficient care to the comprehensive development of the workers collectives. Despite the fact that we have frequently raised the question of mutual relations with other organs of social administration, in many cases the party leading bodies still pursue the wrong habit of supplanting these organs in their initiatives. Party control is still being underrated. Strictness toward violations of labor and civic discipline is being underestimated, and gross violations of the principles and norms of our society are often being lightheartedly disregarded.

An unrelenting struggle must be waged against these serious shortcomings through a much more systematic and purposeful cooperation between the party leading and control organs. The problems which we will have to cope with after the congress are much more complicated and expanded. They demand POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY BUILT UPON THE BASIS OF CONSTANTLY IMPROVING SKILL, COMPETENCE AND CREATIVE SPIRIT IN ALL PARTY ORGANS AND ORGANIZATIONS, AND IN THE PARTY AS A WHOLE.

THE NATURAL CENTER, THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THE NEW AND MORE COMPLICATED TASKS ARE BEING ACCOMPLISHED--THIS IS THE BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATION. It is the basic nucleus of the party. The combat capability and standard of work of the entire party depend to a great extent on the state of this basic party organization, upon the standard of its work, upon its fighting capacity. This is the basis of relations between the party and people's masses. This is the basic foundation upon which the people's confidence in party policy is being built up. TO ENHANCE THE ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, TO TRANSFORM THEM INTO A GENUINE, LEADING POLITICAL NUCLEUS OF THE WORKERS COLLECTIVE AND INTO A BASIC MODEL OF ITS FUTURE STATE--THIS NOW IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PARTY-POLITICAL TASK, THE MAIN AND BASIC ELEMENT OF THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL WORK.

Since the Veliko Turnovo conference, positive changes have occurred in the life of the basic party organizations, but their work is not yet fully adequate to the new requirements. Ordering about and superfluous regimentation continue to paralyze the self-initiative of the basic party organizations, to involve them in extraneous duties, and divert them from coping with local problems, as well as from fully exercising party control. Such activities prevent the basic party organizations from manifesting the variety and values of inner-party relations. Very often the basic party organizations themselves are underrating their own leading and organizational functions.

The strength of the basic party organization lies in its relations with the working people. This organization is not only a representative of the party within the workers collective, but also a representative of the workers collective within the party. The two inseparable characteristic traits of the basic party organization are on the one hand, to explain party policy, to struggle to implement the tasks assigned to the workers collective; on the other hand, to discuss and quickly to resolve problems, to struggle for the solution of the problems which concern the working people and which affect their immediate interests. [paragraph continues]

We are attaching great importance to OPEN PARTY MEETINGS as an effective form of making the working people familiar with questions of party policy, as a means of consolidating the links of party organizations with the masses and of intensifying their mutual relations.

THE BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATION HAS THE TASK OF DEVOTING SYSTEMATIC CARE TO EXPANDING INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY AS A MODEL OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. It must create an atmosphere in which the communists should be able, freely and conscientiously to express their opinions. The Leninist principles of democratic centralism must permeate the accomplishment of the tasks assigned by the party, as well as the problems arising on a local scale. Inner-party democracy is not only needed to discuss and settle problems and accomplish tasks, but also for the process of implementing these tasks and solutions. Only thus, will the struggle for plan fulfillments develop from an economic task into exceptionally important political work in which communists and the people's masses can ideologically and organizationally develop. THE CALL OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION IS DAILY TO TRANSFORM ITS INTERNAL WORK AND ACTIVITIES INTO A MODEL OF SOCIALIST PRODUCTION RELATIONS.

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE COMMUNIST today are higher than those of yesterday. The communist is fighting for the masses' trust and confidence with his varied educational and professional qualities, with his example as a worker and citizen and with his personal charisma. The contemporary communist is a legitimate successor of our party's revolutionary traditions. He is a fighter for the party's revolutionary cause in our day. ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL AND MAIN CONCERNS OF THE BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATION SHOULD BE TO ASSIST ITS MEMBERS IN THEIR ASPIRATIONS TO HONORABLY BEAR THE TITLE OF "BULGARIAN COMMUNIST". (stormy and prolonged applause)

As you can see comrades, the party organizations are facing complicated tasks involving great responsibility. Those tasks can be implemented only if the okrug, the municipal, the plant committees as well as the control-auditing organs change their attitudes and energetically help to finance the role and develop the self-initiative of basic party organizations, as well as to contribute to expanding the creative efforts of these organizations.

There is one criterion for the efficiency of party work and it is THE REAL ABILITY OF A BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATION TO REPRESENT A LEADING FORCE in implementing the economic, social and ideological-educational goals of party policy in every workers collective, in every sector of our material and intellectual production. Comrades, I appeal to every communist that he should not spare any efforts and time to transform the party organizations whose members we are, in a living and active part of the great life-giving force, which is our glorious BCP! (stormy and prolonged applause)

3. Ideological and Educational Work Issues

Comrades,

All the things discussed at the present congress, everything that we will do to practically implement congress decisions--all this is an expression of our ideological development. TO TRANSFORM THE IDEOLOGICAL ESSENCE OF THE 12TH BCP CONGRESS INTO THE UNDERSTANDING, CONVICTION AND MOTIVATION FOR THE WORKING MASSES IS THE BASIC TASK OF THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL WORK DURING THE FORTHCOMING PERIOD. The tremendous and useful work in reorganizing the ideological front that was accomplished during the period under review justifies us in believing that this task will be accomplished.

Ten years ago, after the adoption of the party program on building a developed socialist society we began with our reorganizational work in the ideological sector. The tasks assigned by the program demanded considerable changes in the essence, organization, approach and administration of ideological work, so as to immediately connect it with the most urgent tasks of our historical development and with the working people's daily life. We now can state that OUR SUCCESSES IN IMPLEMENTING THE PARTY PROGRAM AND IN IMPLEMENTING THE DECISIONS OF THE 10TH AND 11TH BCP CONGRESSES ARE INSEPARABLE FROM SUCCESSFUL WORK ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT, WHICH ACTED AS AN ACTIVE FACTOR IN IMPLEMENTING THE PARTY DECISIONS IN PRACTICAL LIFE. This is a serious achievement. [paragraph continues]

The BCP Central Committee expresses its profound gratitude to the tens of thousands of propaganda and agitation workers and to our glorious and militant ideological army. (prolonged applause)

The draft theses on the congress are thoroughly raising the practical issues in connection with the tasks of ideological work for the forthcoming period. I will dwell only on a few problems, directly linked to the QUALITIES which must be asserted and developed, so as to transform them into increasingly characteristic features of our ideological work.

IN THE FIRST PLACE THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF INTENSIFYING THE OFFENSIVE AND MILITANT CHARACTER OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK.

The 12th BCP Congress is outlining considerable changes in the sociopolitical and socio-economic spheres. These changes affect labor relations, the method of earning labor remuneration, the social development of the individual, the participation of the collective and of the individual in planning the organization and assessing of economic and other social activities, the approach to the rights and obligation of every Bulgarian citizen, etc. These changes will undoubtedly exert their impact upon the people's consciousness. This process however, will not happen by itself. It must be understood and guided. In this respect, precisely, in shaping the consciousness and behavior of the people, in shaping new ideological values, adequate to the new social conditions--in this respect--the irreplacable role of ideological work will manifest itself.

The ideological front must fully assume its functions connected with social control and social sanctioning of the collectives and the individual's actual behavior. We are aware of the fact that such tasks often demand manly courage and heroism. Real successes, however, can be achieved only when the ideological worker is uncompromisingly searching for a class-party explanation of social phenomena and of human behavior as well.

A SECOND PROBLEM, WHICH NOW DESERVES PARTICULAR ATTENTION, IS THE ASSERTION OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK AS A MAIN FORM OF CONSTANT INTELLECTUAL LINK BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE BROAD WORKING MASSES.

We should never forget that this is a bilateral link, that it must develop in two directions. Through ideological work people become familiar with the ideas and thoughts of the party. But to no lesser extent, the voice of the people can be heard through ideological work. This aspect of ideological work, its effect "in the other direction," as a source of information and form of expression of public opinion, particularly now must be perfected and developed. Thus the party will be able constantly to feel the heartbeat of the ideological-political situation and even more correctly guide the struggle to satisfy the people's needs.

The new problems require considerable changes IN THE TENOR AND STYLE OF PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION. Noisy speeches, boasting praises and empty rhetoric are becoming not only inadequate, but even intolerable. We need specifications, a lofty meaning, a sense of responsibility about words, and such words, in particular, must be followed up by practical deeds we need sincerity in the dialogue with the people.

It is necessary to speed up the pace of IDEOLOGICAL RESPONSE. In every party organization and every collective problems of a local, national and international character are arising, problems which need ideological explanations and response. In such cases we must not wait for "instructions from above". We must engage in a dialogue with the people. Only thus, we will be able to prevent untruthful and alien interpretations of facts and events and actively develop a correct ideological-class response.

It is necessary to promptly implement ideological reaction. Such a necessity demands an even better use of the potential of ORAL AGITATION. The measures mapped out following the November plenum of the BCP Central Committee on perfecting the organization structure of this form of agitation apparatus must be implemented.

THE FOLLOWING PROBLEM REFERS TO INTENSIFYING THE CREATIVE CHARACTER OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK.

In order to be up to date and up to the current issues of building socialism, up to the development of the contemporary personality, the Marxist-Leninist theory must steadily develop.

Its ideological-theoretical essence must be enriched by new ideas, analyses and synthesis.

The party program and a number of party documents published following adoption of the program marked serious new steps in the creative elaboration of the theoretical problems of building a mature socialist society. Against the background of such achievements certain imperfections quite acutely distinguish themselves. THERE ARE SO-CALLED "BLANK SPOTS" IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND IN THEIR TRENDS. Implementation of the socioeconomic policy demands a much more thorough analysis of the processes of material and intellectual incentives; an analysis of the essence and relation of social and individual interests, an analysis of the trends and development of such relations, an analysis of the factors and incentives and of their regulation and guidance; an analysis of the variety and wealth of socialist social relations and an analysis of the motivations of the individual, of the development of his aspirations and ambitions, his convictions and stands.

It is, for example, obvious that no matter what "intelligent" machines we invent, they depend upon man, they are operated and guided by man who remains the main productive force of society. This man cannot be the man of primitive tools such as the hammer and sickle. He will no longer be the man of our present tools, the tractor and the lathe. He will be the man of a new epoch with new equipment, technologies and production organization. That is why we must steadily improve his intellectual and professional training, so as to make him a true creative individual and a guiding factor of future technology and economy. Through their research work and their studies of our national and international experience, the social sciences must be capable of answering the question: How will this new man be; how must he be trained for the new working tasks which are awaiting him?

It is necessary to accomplish research on the work of agricultural and industrial workers, on the social development of the workers collectives. In our plants and cooperative farms--along with economists, agronomists and engineers--the sociologist and the psychologist must take their due places.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL--these are criteria for measuring the impact of ideological work. We expect philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, sociology, ethics and all other social sciences to even more deeply penetrate into the research of social factors that determine the development of the socialist way of life, the manifold development and self-assertion of the personality and the processes and trends of developing mass consciousness.

It is also necessary essentially to IMPROVE THE PROPAGANDA OF MARXISM-LENINISM and of its contemporary achievements. It is necessary more thoroughly to reveal the objective conditions and laws and the tremendous role of the subjective factor in our social development.

We must constantly follow and explain the DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. Our permanent and primary task remains a well-founded and irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology and bourgeois propaganda, against rightwing and "leftist" deviations from Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice. Generally speaking, comrades, in all these fields of life and on all issues--on the old and "eternal" ones and on the newly arising ones, in daily life and work, in material and intellectual creative work--our ideological front must wage CONSISTENT AND CONSTANT WORK, AND STRUGGLE TO TRANSFORM THE PARTY'S STAND INTO THE STAND OF THE PEOPLE. (applause)

I would like to express the conviction that our ideological work will continue to be an intellectual incentive and support of the people's initiative, support for their irreconcilability to shortcomings and weaknesses, and of their striving for a more active contribution to work and to social affairs.

4. On Work of the Mass and Propaganda Media

Comrades, from the rostrum of the 10th and 11th BCP Congresses our BCP Central Committee expressed its high appreciation for the work of PRESS, RADIO TELEVISION AND OTHER MASS MEDIA. [paragraph continues]

Now we must once again stress the great role and credit earned by these powerful propaganda institutions which have entered the daily life of the people and have become irreplaceable sources of covering the needs for information and culture of the broadest masses of our population.

Following the 1956 April plenum, and in particular during the last decade, the BCP Central Committee thoroughly worked out the basic problems of the mass media. We can now say that a modern party concept has now been created and is being implemented in the work of the media and their further development throughout the entire period of building a mature socialist society. The unchanging principle of party leadership--the class-party approach --applied in conformity with party policy and with the demands for close links with practical life, for high professional skill and journalistic mastership are the main factors for the successes of our press, radio, television and book publishing, today and in the future.

A number of pertinent problems in this sphere have not yet been satisfactorily resolved, such as, for example the problems of the standard of information and commentaries and intensifying critical and theoretical publications. There is an urgent need for more profound study of our economic problems, of the problems concerning social development and of problems in accomplishing the tasks which are now directly affecting the citizens interests. As to its character, journalism is a creative art, which like any creative activity must be devoted to man as the main subject of its attention and to the education of new personality.

People are saying that 4 million people watch our television screens daily and that they devote a considerable part of their time to television programs. Almost identical is the situation with radio listeners. At the same time the interest in daily newspapers and periodicals, in good books is also increasing. Obviously, this is the result of their improvement, but above all it is the result of the growing intellectual needs of our contemporary society for more information, scientific knowledge, culture and literature.

Whenever we compose political, cultural and educational programs for television and radio, whenever we develop the structure of the press and of publishing plans, particular attention should be devoted to the needs of children and youth, who are the future of our motherland. THE STRATEGIC TASK facing our mass media and propaganda system is to wholeheartedly win the audience of children and youth and TO DEVELOP CORRECT POLITICAL, SOCIAL, MORAL AND ESTHETIC VIEWS, ABOVE ALL AMONG THE YOUNG GENERATION. There is no question of mainly increasing the number of specialized youth and children's programs and publications. There is the question of improving the quality of such programs and printed products on the one hand, and of improving the entire work of the mass media on the other hand, so that they may positively impress the young people and attract their attention, so that they may exert a stronger impact upon youth.

The educational programs, broadcasts and publications, which are DEVELOPING INTEREST AND PREREQUISITES FOR MASTERING SCIENCE AND RECENT TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS, WHICH ARE STIMULATING THE CREATIVE TALENTS AND INTELLECTUAL GROWTH OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERSONALITIES are now assuming great importance.

All this poses new requirements and great responsibilities for the cadres of our journalistic front, and demands MORE INTENSIVELY USING THE EXISTING TECHNOLOGICAL BASIS. Simultaneously, the material basis of the press, television, radio, book publishing, news agencies and dissemination of printed material must be renovated and elevated to the highest level. The dynamic introduction in this area of electronics, laser technology and many other technological novelties, as well as the exacerbation of the ideological duel on the world scale, pose many new issues on the agenda, and they cannot be postponed. They must be clarified and decided in close cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries.

Finally, I would like to note the broad and manysided activity developed by RABOTNICHESKO DELO, other newspapers, the television and the radio during the precongressional months in allocating much space to readers' opinions. The professional journalist is the main figure of the mass media. However, in addition to being an author, he is also an organizer, and perhaps first of all an organizer, who provides the newspaper, radio and television with authors--outside people. [paragraph continues]

It is good when these outside people are not primarily fellow journalists from other publications. I think that I am expressing the opinion of the congress delegates when I insistently wish journalists--our loyal comrades and collaborators in the mass media managed by them--to more frequently and systematically allocate space to the nonprofessional authors. Let the voices of the specialists and the rank and file workers from various areas of life be heard more frequently.

Comrades, these are some of the basic questions of party-political activity. They can be solved with the active efforts of cadres from all generations and with the direct participation of every communist. THE STRUGGLE FOR THEIR IMPLEMENTATION IS A STRUGGLE FOR FURTHER INCREASING THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE, FOR FURTHER STRENGTHENING ITS BLOOD RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE, AND FOR NEW SUCCESSES IN BUILDING THE DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY. (prolonged applause)

VI. The Development of the International Situation and the Party's Foreign Policy

Comrades, the strenuous work of the people and party for building the developed socialist society is taking place in a complex, contradictory and dynamically changing international situation. The world has parted with the 1970's and entered the 1980's of our century. The past decades were rich with great events, which had great significance in the course of world affairs and for the development of international relations. All mankind has good reason to remember them well.

First of all, these were YEARS OF REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENTS AND VICTORIES IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND DETENTE. As is well known, the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses developed and promulgated a PROGRAM OF PEACE which we also accepted as our own program. This is a program imbued with realism, wisdom and profound humanism. It points the way to solving the most topical and acute problems of the present international relations and of strengthening the course toward detente, restoring and strengthening confidence among states, and removing the danger of a nuclear war. Therefore, this program corresponds not only to the interests of the Soviet people, but also to the vital interests of all people throughout the world. THE CPSU PEACE PROGRAM IS GRADUALLY, ALTHOUGH WITH DIFFICULTIES, BEING IMPLEMENTED IN LIFE. (applause) At the initiative of the USSR and of Comrade Brezhnev personally, a historic success was achieved in Helsinki. It created new conditions and a new political climate in Europe, and their beneficial consequences and reflections are felt throughout the world. Under the influence of the initiative and proposals of the USSR and the other socialist community countries, including Bulgaria, talks on disarmament and military detente began. These talks are following a difficult path, but there is no doubt that they are a positive factor in asserting the spirit of peace in international relations.

Simultaneously, the question of peace becomes more and more A PROBLEM AND CONCERN OF THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES, AND THUS THE PEOPLE HAVE INCREASED THEIR STRUGGLE FOR THE PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD. The peace-loving forces conducted powerful campaigns for peace, which rendered good results. It must not be forgotten that it was precisely a similar campaign that foiled the plans to deploy neutron weapons in Western Europe. The World Parliament of Peoples for Peace, which took place in 1980 in Sofia, received international recognition. The assembly "banner of peace" which set the beginning of the world children's movement for peace, also took place in our country, at our initiative and under conditions of Bulgarian hospitality. This also received due international recognition.

One cannot ignore the increasingly active participation in the struggle for peace of figures from the spheres of science and culture, and the people whose names and opinions influence the broad people's masses. We were the organizers and hosts of the already traditional Sofia international meeting of writers, the meeting of ministers of culture and cultural figures, and other meetings of the world intelligentsia. We could be directly convinced that the creators from the spheres of science and culture will do everything for the triumph of peace and for preserving man's first right--his right to live.

Noting the successes of the course of peace and detente, one cannot but evaluate positively the political realism and sober attitude demonstrated by many leading political figures of the capitalist states, and their contribution to solving the contemporary international problems.

Of course, the successes of the cause of peace must not prevent us from seeing the difficulties along its road, and the increasing resistance of reactionary forces. We cannot ignore the activization of bellicose U.S. circles, and the obstacles faced by the talks on disarmament and military detente. We cannot underestimate the NATO decisions on deploying new medium-range U.S. missiles in Western Europe, the annual increase of military activity of imperialism in various parts of the world, and the damage caused by China's hegemonist foreign policy. All these events and facts show that THE SUCCESSES OF THE CAUSE OF PEACE ARE REASONS FOR OPTIMISM, BUT BY NO MEANS REASONS FOR SELF-COMPLACENCY. THERE IS NO PLACE FOR REST IN THIS STRUGGLE, AND THERE CANNOT BE ANY REST. WE NEED NEW INITIATIVES AND EFFORTS ON ALL LEVELS AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD IF MANKIND'S PEACEFUL EXISTENCE IS TO BE GUARANTEED.

Let us not doubt that the people and nations throughout the world WILL GIVE EVERYTHING FOR THE VICTORY OF THE HOLY CAUSE OF PEACE. MANKIND'S FUTURE BELONGS TO PEACE AND ONLY PEACE! (prolonged applause)

Comrades, during the past decade the world moved TOWARD SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.

A remarkable success was achieved by the Soviet people, who under the leadership of the CPSU entered the new epoch of communist construction, an epoch unprecedented in social history. The decisions of the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU congresses, the new USSR Constitution and the exceptional Soviet successes in economic and cultural construction, in developing science and technology, and in solving mankind's spiritual questions--all this sets the BASIC THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL LANDMARKS OF THE NEW ROAD, WHICH WILL BE FOLLOWED BY THE OTHER COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES. (applause)

THE OTHER SOCIALIST COMMUNITY COUNTRIES also took new and large steps in their development. It is well known that most of our countries are building a developed socialist society. Great successes in the development of economy, science, culture and increasing the people's standard of life were achieved. A new type of relations continues to consolidate and develop among the fraternal countries, relations based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism--this new type of internationalism which was born together with the socialist community. Its principles of fraternal friendship and solidarity, and friendly mutual assistance, are a guiding principle in relations between our countries and peoples, and a powerful and uniting force in the common struggle for building socialism and communism. (applause) Our unity and cohesion, our actions toward the common goal; the specialization, production sharing and integration in areas of the economy; the united actions in the international arena and fraternal cooperation between our armed forces, are increasing our force and allow us to more successfully overcome the inevitable difficulties along our road, to more easily solve the complex tasks of the socialist and communist construction, and to resist the enemies of socialism and peace.

THE VICTORIES OF THE PEOPLES of Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, South Yemen and Afghanistan, which selected the socialist orientation of social development, have a great significance for the entire world. They are irrefutable proof of the fact that today, under the conditions of the struggle for peace and independence and for social justice and progress, every people who actually take their destiny into their hands TURN THEIR BACKS TO CAPITALISM AND HEAD TOWARD THE SOCIALIST ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT. (applause)

THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT is successfully developing in its general form, is reaching new successes, and searching and finding new forms and methods of action, struggle, relations, solidarity and unity of action among communists. [paragraph continues]

The actions of the communist parties in support of the struggle of people against the attempts of imperialism and hegemony, against NATO's aggressive decisions of 1979 and so forth, were impressive manifestations of proletarian internationalism. The celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a real holiday of the ideological unity among communists. The Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, the Paris meeting of peace of the European communist parties, the conference on "the construction of socialism and communism and world development" organized in Sofia by the BCP and the magazine PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, and other communist forums, have been held successfully.

Our movement also has its problems and differences. However, this is not its main characteristic. The important thing is that its unity is strengthening and its power in the struggle for the common goal is constantly growing. (applause)

THERE IS NOT AND CANNOT BE ANY DOUBT THAT COMMUNISM WILL MARCH FORWARD AND WILL HARVEST EVER NEW SUCCESSES. (prolonged applause)

THE EXACERBATION OF CAPITALISM'S GENERAL CRISIS was another characteristic of the 1970's. The energy crisis and the raw materials crisis developed, and the struggle for markets intensified. Inflation reached unprecedented dimensions and unemployment is crushing the working people in a real disaster. This became the permanent and sad destiny of 15-20 million people. Imperialism suffered heavy defeats in Asia, Africa and Latin America. To a large degree, capitalism lost its position as an example and road of social progress for the developing countries' peoples. Not only communists but also political forces and movements of a democratic and progressive character are opposing the capitalist example.

All these difficulties, losses and defeats of imperialism during the 1970's were focused in the United States, and caused an unprecedented and difficult crisis of this main force of imperialism. The U.S. economy ceased to be omnipotent in the capitalist world. U.S. policy suffered serious losses in various parts of the world.

The defeats and fiascos of imperialism stimulated the appearance of moods of revenge and ambition, which gradually prevailed in U.S. foreign policy and in the policy of some of its allies. The attacks against the USSR and the other socialist countries, such as the human rights campaign, which failed, were followed by attempts at total attacking real socialism, and an attempt to isolate the USSR from other countries and peoples. As is well known, the former U.S. administration stopped contacts on the highest level, foiled SALT-II ratification, introduced limitations on the trade exchange with the USSR, and even made a piteous attempt to organize a boycott against the Moscow Olympic Games. Of course, THIS WAS A ROAD TO NOWHERE. Other anti-Soviet attempts also failed. History shows that one cannot talk with the USSR from a position of force. This was true in 1917-1922 and in 1941-1945 as well. So it is also now! Unfortunately, some of the first steps of the new U.S. administration show that there are still people who do not understand this.

China is playing a special role in imperialism's attempts for revenge. Continuing to conduct its anti-Soviet and hegemonist policy, the Chinese leadership is supporting the reactionary forces throughout the world, voices claims on neighboring and nonneighboring countries, interferes in their internal affairs and even undertakes open aggression. Complex and contradictory processes have taken place in China in recent years. They demonstrated the insolvency of Maoism and the damage done to this country by the perversion of socialism. The Cultural Revolution was condemned, the cult of Mao's personality was curbed, many victims of the repressions were rehabilitated, and they even started talking about legality, order and so forth. However, it remains to be seen how far they will go. We shall greet every positive change in China and we are ready to further develop our interstate relations with the People's Republic of China. The Bulgarian people have deep respect for the Chinese people, their ancient and rich culture, their revolutionary history and their struggle for freedom, independence and social progress. We believe in their future and in the positive role they can play again in our common struggle for the triumph of the communist ideal. (applause)

Comrades, the BCP's international activity during the period under review took place in a complex and contradictory international situation. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FOREIGN POLICY LINE OUTLINED BY THE 11TH BCP CONGRESS, ALL EFFORTS OF OUR PARTY AND STATE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA WERE AIMED AT DEVELOPING THE PROCESS OF DETENTE, STRENGTHENING WORLD PEACE, AND CREATING BENEFICIAL INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS FOR BUILDING MATURE SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY. WE WERE LED AND ARE CONSTANTLY BEING LED BY THE DEEP CONVICTION THAT NOW THERE IS NO MORE IMPORTANT AND VITAL TASK THAN SECURING THE WORLD'S PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT.

Expressing our people's will, let me solemnly declare: WE, THE BULGARIAN COMMUNISTS AND ALL WORKING PEOPLE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA, ADOPTED THE CPSU PEACE PROGRAM--UPDATED AND DEVELOPED BY THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS--AS OUR OWN PROGRAM! AS A PARTY, STATE AND PEOPLE WE ARE DOING AND WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO IMPLEMENT IT. (stormy and prolonged applause)

Loyal to its principled and consistent foreign policy, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will further conduct a course of peaceful cooperation and understanding with all countries and states.

Comrades,

During the period which is being reviewed, the basic attention of BCP foreign policy activity was aimed at STRENGTHENING THE COHESION AND UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, AND DEVELOPING AND ENRICHING OUR RELATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION WITH THE PARTIES, COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF THE USSR, SRV, GDR, CUBA, LAOS, MONGOLIA, POLAND, ROMANIA, HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Our political relations and contacts on all levels strengthened the scope and forms of our economic cooperation developed and deepened. The scientific-technical relations expanded, the cultural exchange grew, and the mutual acquaintance of the peoples was enriched. We can say that our relations with the fraternal socialist countries were elevated to a new and higher level. (applause)

The socialist community countries are our basic economic partners. During the period which is being reviewed, our trade exchange with them increased over 50 percent. Specialization and production sharing developed more and more. Economic integration within the CEMA framework is strengthening. The documents on long-range cooperation, specialization and production sharing with the fraternal socialist countries, CEMA's long-range target programs with versatile bases are the foundation of our cooperation with the socialist countries. All this allows us to use not only the traditional forms of trade as the center of our trade exchange with the fraternal socialist countries, but first of all the development of specialization and production sharing, the joint planning of separate articles, the production of entire branches and sub-branches, the joint construction of capacities, cooperation in the sphere of science, the introduction of new equipment and technology, and so forth.

Life poses new tasks which require further perfecting of CEMA. We agree and support the Soviet proposal on conducting a meeting which will discuss this issue.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always been, is and will be a loyal member of the socialist community. Our freedom and independence, and our comprehensive development, are closely connected with the destiny of the fraternal countries--our loyal and selfless friends. We are doing and will do everything to strengthen our political and defensive alliance--the Warsaw Treaty organization. (prolonged applause)

Led by the principles of socialist internationalism, we express our fraternal solidarity and support to the PZPR and all real Polish patriots. We express our deep confidence that the party of Polish communists and Polish people will decisively oppose the internal and international reaction, (stormy and prolonged applause), will lead Poland out of the crisis, and will secure the further and successful socialist development of the Polish People's Republic. (prolonged applause)

The BCP and Bulgarian people express their deep respect and unreserved support of the Cuban Communist Party and Cuban people, (stormy and prolonged applause), for their revolutionary firmness and consistent internationalism, and for their contribution to the struggle against imperialism and for strengthening peace and understanding among nations. (prolonged applause)

The BCP and Bulgarian people express their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea for defending their independence, territorial integrity and revolutionary achievements, and will continue to render them fraternal support. (stormy and prolonged applause)

As always, we will continue to support the struggle of the Korean people for the unification of their motherland in a peaceful and democratic manner, and without foreign interference. (prolonged applause)

Also during the period being reviewed, THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR ACTIVITY WAS THE COMPREHENSIVE STRENGTHENING OF FRATERNAL RELATIONS WITH THE CPSU, WITH THE GREAT COUNTRY OF THE SOVIETS AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE. (applause) Steadily following the course of a comprehensive coming together and cooperation between the BCP and the CPSU, and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and USSR, these relations obtained new, richer content and were elevated to a new qualitative level. The 1977 visit of the Bulgarian party-state delegation to the USSR, and the visit of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev to Bulgaria at the beginning of 1979, became important events in the comprehensive cooperation and coming together between our two fraternal peoples in the political, economic, cultural and ideological spheres, as well as an integral part of our daily life. The general plan on specialization and production sharing in material production between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR for the period up to 1990 is being implemented successfully. Broad relations are developing between Bulgarian okrugs and Soviet oblasts, between economic and scientific organizations, working collectives, and millions and millions of people from both countries. (prolonged applause)

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND PARTIES, COMRADES, REALLY ARE AN EXAMPLE OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM IN ACTION. Under the leadership of their communist parties, the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples are together making a concrete contribution to developing new trends and forms of rallying peoples who are marching along the road of socialism and communism (prolonged applause) and to strengthen the unity of the socialist community. It is precisely along this road, with common efforts, that we are approaching the comprehensive economic, ideological and political integration envisaged by Marxism-Leninism, and the voluntary fraternal alliance of the free people throughout the world. (prolonged applause)

FROM THE ROSTRUM OF THE 12TH BCP CONGRESS, ON BEHALF OF THE PARTY AND THE ENTIRE BULGARIAN PEOPLE, WE WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS TO THE CPSU, THE SOVIET PEOPLE AND TO COMRADE LEONID BREZHNEV PERSONALLY--OUR COMRADE, FRIEND AND BROTHER--OUR DEEP GRATITUDE, WHICH COMES STRAIGHT FROM OUR HEARTS, FOR EVERYTHING THEY ARE DOING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF BULGARIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, FOR THE POWER OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, FOR RALLYING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT AND ALL DEMOCRATIC AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES, AND FOR THE TRIUMPH OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD! (stormy and prolonged applause)

Comrades, as a Balkan state, the People's Republic of Bulgaria naturally attributes exceptional significance to the situation in the Balkans, and to developing relations with the neighboring countries.

We note with satisfaction that during the present complicated international situation, the Balkans are relatively calm. Positive changes have been implemented with common efforts, and important progress in the mutual relations of the Balkan states has been achieved. This is a great achievement of our peoples. (applause)

A substantial contribution to this was the principled and consistent policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a policy of peace, understanding, friendship and cooperation; a sincere, honest and constructive policy which does not seek any circumstantial advantage or cheap prestige; a policy which has been carried out with a sense of responsibility for the present and future of the peoples in this area.

This policy has earned the recognition not only of the mass strata of people, but also of the ruling circles of the neighboring and distant countries.

Our all-round relations with the Socialist Republic of Romania are developing successfully. These are relations between two fraternal countries--members of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, linked by the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty.

Our relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are making progress. Although they have not yet reached the level of relations that ought to exist between two neighboring socialist countries, we regard their future optimistically, and regardless of certain difficulties we are patiently and consistently working for the development of lasting and broad good-neighborly cooperation in all spheres. Further enhancing the relations between our socialist countries is fully in keeping with the interests of the Bulgarian and Yugoslav peoples.

We are making efforts to fully normalize and further develop relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the basis of mutual respect, equality and mutual profit.

We are satisfied with the progress achieved in our relations with the Republic of Greece. They have continued to actively develop in a spirit of good neighborliness and friendship. Our ties with the Republic of Turkey also continue to develop well. We believe that the further consolidation of the climate of confidence with our southern neighbors will open further opportunities for expanding and deepening mutual profitable cooperation in various spheres, which will contribute to the peace and well-being of our peoples.

Our ties with the Republic of Cyprus are developing in a spirit of friendship and mutual advantage. The People's Republic of Bulgaria invariably stands in favor of a peaceful and just solution of the Cyprus problem, in the interest of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, by safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the republic.

While we positively assess the political climate in the Balkans, we are far from the hope of idealizing matters. The Balkans are part of Europe, and part of the world. It is perfectly clear that the general state of international relations exerts, and will continue to exert, a different influence on the atmosphere in the area. The complicated contradictions of our times are also present here. Peace, understanding and cooperation are obviously not to the liking of certain imperialistic and reactionary circles which are trying to bring destabilization to the situation, and to rekindle national hostilities and distrust among the Balkan peoples. It is not in the interests of the Balkan peoples, but serves foreign interests to stockpile nuclear and other weapons, to have foreign bases with troops, and to search the past to rake up facts intended to use against us.

The Balkan people know from their own experience that they can expect nothing good from such actions. We believe that they will not allow themselves to be deceived and that they will foil the attempts to give back to the peninsula the sad "glory" of the past. We also believe that those responsible will show statesmanlike wisdom and foresight in order to guarantee peace and tranquility on the peninsula.

By signing the Helsinki Final Act, Bulgaria and its neighbors accepted the realities after World War II, and solemnly declared that they will develop relations of security and cooperation. The Balkan peoples, like all other peoples in Europe and the world, need such relations because they serve the cause of peace and social progress.

Therefore:

--Mindful of the lessons of history, we are of the opion that efforts should be made to constantly improve the climate of confidence in the area;

--We again declare our readiness to follow the road traced by Helsinki, so that the Balkans may become a stable area of detente;

— In accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, we are ready to sign bilateral agreements that would include a code of goodneighborly relations, renunciation of territorial claims, not allowing the use of the territory of the parties which have signed the agreement for purposes or actions hostile to one another;

— We are in favor of further expanding and deepening bilateral cooperation in the sphere of economy, tourism, science, culture, education and sports, which will give even more abundant results to each country, will contribute to the mutual acquaintance of our peoples, and will be a factor for strengthening peace and security on the peninsula;

— Having in mind that the Balkan peninsula is situated on the road connecting Europe, Asia and Africa, we are in favor of developing cooperation in the sector of transportation and communications, which will be of interest to many countries and peoples;

— We are ready to continue cooperation with the other Balkan countries on a multilateral basis on matters of mutual interest in those specific areas in which agreements have already been reached.

From this rostrum, let us once again clearly state that with its foreign policy in the Balkans, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to do everything necessary for establishing peace and understanding, establishing confidence and friendship, and also developing cooperation with all Balkan countries and peoples. (prolonged applause)

Comrades, during the period under review, led by its peaceful foreign policy course our country actively developed its relations with THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The summit meeting with the leaders of the FRG, Japan, Austria, Portugal and other states had a significant role in this respect. Our relations with France and Italy are developing well. There is also progress in our relations with the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland and the north European countries. We are making efforts to improve our relations with the United States and Great Britain. The meetings and talks with these countries' business circles and the cultural exchange with the capitalist world are not only of mutual interest, but also contribute to improving the general climate of international relations. Together with the other socialist community states, we will make further efforts to assert democratic principles in trade and in scientific-technological cooperation with the capitalist countries.

Significant progress was made in our relations with THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. Our political relations were activated and our cultural relations expanded. We are developing broad economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the majority of Asian, African and Latin American countries. We exchange experience and assist them in constructing many industrial and other projects and agro-industrial complexes. Thousands of Bulgarian specialists are contributing to these countries' economic development.

Our friendly relations with India, Libya, Syria, Algeria, Mexico, Nigeria, the People's Republic of Benin and other states are developing well, and are expanding and strengthening.

As is well known, our people greeted with sympathy the anti-imperialist revolution in Iran. We traditionally maintain good relations with Iran. We also traditionally maintain good relations with Iraq. The military actions which have taken place between these two countries in recent months are creating a new hotbed of tension in the Middle East region, and are seriously hurting the interests of Iran and Iraq. The Iraqi-Iranian war suits only the interest of imperialism, which is making efforts to restore its lost positions in this part of the world by utilizing the conflict which has developed. Our position is clear: The war must be stopped and the disputable issues must be solved at the negotiation table.

THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE EXPRESS THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH PEOPLE STRUGGLING FOR FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. This is the position of a people who have also conducted a long struggle against the foreign and capitalist yoke. This is a position which springs from our socialist system's nature.

From the congress rostrum, we happily greet the victory of the Zimbabwe people, and send combat greetings to the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, who are struggling against imperialism and apartheid, to achieve their national independence. (prolonged applause)

We express our solidarity with the patriots of El Salvador, who are heroically struggling for the freedom and independence of their motherland. (prolonged applause)

We warmly greet the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada, and wish them new successes in their struggle for freedom, democracy and social progress. (prolonged applause)

The People's Republic of Bulgaria expresses its solidarity with the steadfastness front countries, and with the struggle of the PLO for the liberation of Palestine. (applause) There is no other way to solve the Middle East problems in a just and long-lasting manner than the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, restoring the legal right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and creating their own state, and respecting the sovereignty of all states in the region. (applause) Therefore we support the proposal made by Comrade Brezhnev, from the rostrum of the 26th CPSU Congress. to convene an international conference on solving the Middle East problems with the participation of all interested countries. (applause)

THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES MOVEMENT is playing and will play an important role in achieving detente. The People's Republic of Bulgaria highly values its contribution up to now to the struggle against reaction and imperialism, and for strengthening world peace and understanding among nations.

Our relations with states which have selected the SOCIALIST WAY OF DEVELOPMENT have an important part in our foreign policy activity. These relations are based on the common interests of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and for social progress. During the period under review, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has signed bilateral treaties on friendship and cooperation with Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia. The BCP relations with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, the Frelimo Party, the Socialist Party of Yemen and other parties have strengthened.

Our mutual relations with other states which are defending and strengthening their freedom and independence are also developing successfully.

From the first day of the April revolution in Afghanistan, we have unreservedly supported the Afghan people and their vanguard--the Afghan People's Democratic Party. We express our solidarity with the fraternal international assistance of the USSR, rendered at the request of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This assistance aims at defending Afghanistan's sovereignty and national independence, as well as its democratic and peaceful development. (prolonged applause) We condemn the imperialists, hegemonists and other reactionary forces rendering the counterrevolutionary bands armed and other assistance, and elevating this rude interference to the rank of state policy. We support the proposals of the Afghan Government to peacefully solve the problems which have emerged, guaranteeing that the intervention against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will stop.

Comrades, one of the basic trends of BCP activity during the period under review was TO FURTHER EXPAND AND STRENGTHEN OUR COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION WITH THE FRATERNAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES. The BCP is struggling to constantly strengthen the unity and cohesion of the communists, for a broad exchange of the experience accumulated by the fraternal parties, and for collectively discussing the new and urgent issues of world development and the struggle of the workers' class for peace and socialism. We are united by the great and eternal teaching--Marxism-Leninism. We are united by the great principles of proletarian internationalism. FROM THIS ROSTRUM, ON YOUR BEHALF COMRADE DELEGATES, AND ON THE BEHALF OF ALL BULGARIAN COMMUNISTS, I WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND TO TENS OF MILLIONS OF COMMUNISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD--OUR SISTERS AND BROTHERS--WARMEST GREETINGS OF SOLIDARITY. (stormy prolonged applause)

The BCP supports broad cooperation with all democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world. In this context, I would like to express our satisfaction with the development of contacts between the BCP and some socialist parties in recent years. With an open heart, we are looking for a constructive dialogue and joint action with social democrats, trade union and religious figures, and all democratic and peace-loving forces, movements and organizations.

Dear comrades and guests from the fraternal and friendly parties throughout the world. I would like to assure you that THE BCP, THE PARTY OF GEORGI DIMITROV, WILL WORK SELFLESSLY FOR STRENGTHENING THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND FOR STRENGTHENING COOPERATION WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS, AND ALL PROGRESSIVE FORCES WHICH ARE STRUGGLING AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND REACTION, AND FOR FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. (stormy prolonged applause)

THIS IS THE WILL OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNISTS! (prolonged applause) THIS IS THE WILL OF THE ENTIRE BULGARIAN PEOPLE! (prolonged applause)

Comrades, this is the situation in the world today, and this is the place of contemporary Bulgaria in this world, during the days of the 12th BCP Congress.

During the 1,300-year history of the Bulgarian state, there have been cases in which the interests of the dominating class have temporarily coincided with the interests of the people's masses, and Bulgaria has had its periods of prosperity and power. However, now, for the first time, the state is being led by the workers' class, whose lasting and ultimate interests merge with the people's basic interests. For the first time the leading class is no longer a negligent minority but a factor which alone, not counting the aligned class and social strata, accounts for more than 50 percent of the working population of the country. Now, for the first time--under the influence of the socialist system's objective laws--processes which consistently and steadily lead towards the class uniformity of the Bulgarian nation and a nonclass communist society in Bulgaria are taking place. (prolonged applause)

In its 1,300-year history, Bulgaria has had great thinkers, poets and revolutionaries, great kings, military leaders and spiritual schools, known throughout the world, which have had a great influence on human thought and culture. With full justification, we are proud of them today. HOWEVER, NEVER IN ITS 1,300-YEAR HISTORY HAS BULGARIA HAD A PEOPLE SUCH AS ITS PRESENT PEOPLE--WITH SUCH HIGH EDUCATION AND CULTURE, WITH UNITED INTERESTS, GOALS AND STRIVINGS, WITH SUCH HIGH INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY AND SUCH FIRM BELIEF IN THEIR POWER AND FUTURE. (prolonged applause) NEVER, DURING THESE 1,300 YEARS HAVE THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE HAD SUCH A GREAT THINKER, SUCH AN INSPIRING POET, SCIENTIST, ORGANIZER AND LEADER AS OUR OWN BCP. (stormy prolonged applause)

During the year of its 1,300th anniversary, Bulgaria is marching steadily in the front rank of states which are leading mankind toward the kingdom of freedom--communism. Socialist Bulgaria has powerful and loyal friends and allies. Socialist Bulgaria is confident about the security of its borders and the fruits of its people's work. The thoughts and feelings, the power and forces of its brightest minds and warmest hearts are united not in a struggle against domestic and foreign exploiters and oppressors, but in the struggle of consolidating, developing and strengthening the existing sociopolitical system, because this is the system for which our great predecessors, the Bulgarian people's saints and idols, have dreamed, struggled and died. (prolonged applause)

Comrades, our achievements during the years after the 9 September revolution, and especially during the last decade, are great. Our feeling of communist and patriotic pride, which fills our souls in these congress days, is fully justifiable. All this is so and all this is beautiful. But what is even better is the spirit of holy dissatisfaction with what has been achieved, the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, the spirit of searching for new horizons, and this revolutionary and innovating spirit which is so characteristic of the PBCP and which becomes more and more a characteristic of the Bulgarian people. (stormy applause)

WITH THIS INNER FIRE AND CREATIVE BURNING ONWARDS, COMRADES, LET US INSPIRE THE COMMUNISTS, WORKERS' CLASS AND PEOPLE TO STRUGGLE FOR IMPLEMENTING THE DECISIONS OF THE 12TH BCP CONGRESS! (stormy prolonged applause)

Long live our own BCP! (stormy prolonged applause)

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria--our beloved socialist motherland! (stormy and prolonged applause)

Long live communism! (stormy and prolonged applause, the delegates rise and chant BCP! BCP!)

12TH BCP CONGRESS 5-YEAR PLAN THESES REPORTED

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[Text] Sofia, 9 Apr (BTA)--The theses of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party for the work of the party and the development of Bulgaria in the seventh five-year period (1976-1980) and the tasks in the 1981-1985 period and up to the year 1990 were submitted here for publication.

The theses contain five sections--on the situation in the world and the international activity of the party and state, on the socio-economic development of Bulgaria, on the development of science, culture, education and the mass media, on the improvement of state construction and social management and further development of socialist democracy, on raising the leading role of the party.

It is said in the foreign political section of the theses, that the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgaria will continue to make their active contribution in the future, too, to the consistent translation of the peace programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into life. A key trend in foreign policy will be the further strengthening of the unity, the unity in action [words indistinct] fraternal alliance with the countries of the socialist community and first of all with the Soviet Union. The Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgaria will continue to make active efforts for the promotion of goodneighborliness and cooperation in the Balkans.

The theses mention the main socioeconomic achievements of the seventh five-year period. The national income has risen by almost 24 billion leva over the sixth five-year period. Fixed capital reached 77 billion leva at the end of 1980.

The real income per capita of the population rose by 12.7 percent.

The chief socio-economic task of the eighth five-year period will be: To continue the policy of meeting the constantly rising material, cultural and social demands of the people in a more complex way on the basis of intensification of the national economy, the consistent application of the new economic approach and its mechanism and by further improving socialist social relations.

The requirement set in the theses for the national income in the five-year period is to rise by 25-30 percent and in the 1986-1990 period--by 20-25 percent. Labour efficiency in the next five years should rise by 30-35 percent and in 1990 labour efficiency should be twice the figure it was in 1980.

Special attention is to be paid to the transfer into practice of scientific and technological achievements of both Bulgarian and foreign invention and what is more at a accelerated rates. A stress is to be laid on the complex mechanization of manufacture, complex automatization with a wider application of electronics and robotics, on chemization and biologization of the economy, diversification of products and the improvement of their quality. Another stress is to be laid on the improvement of the organization of labour and the qualification of cadres.

Industry will retain its leading role in the economy.

In the development of the energy and raw material base the share of local sources will be increased with the possibilities for extra resources from imports to be utilized to a fuller extent. The country should come nearer to world indices in in-depth and complex utilization of raw materials. A policy will be conducted of a relative decrease in the extent of energy-consumption and material-consumption of manufacture and a gradual transfer will be carried out towards new kinds of raw and other materials, a trend which in the ninth five year period will be unfolded on a wider front.

The relative share of electric energy generated by the atomic power plant should be 26 percent of the total output in 1985 and 40 percent in 1990.

In ferrous metallurgy the manufacture of high-quality and special steels and the development of powder metallurgy and metalo-ceramics should be intensified. Non ferrous metallurgy should meet the demands for non-ferrous metals and rolled metals to a fuller extent. Copper production will be given a fresh impetus.

For the production of chemical products a rate of growth of 50 percent is set for the year 1985 as against 1980. This industry should raise its own role in the expansion of the raw material base of the country. The in-depth processing of oil and gas will be furthered. Special attention will be paid to small-tonnage chemistry.

Mechanical engineering is being entrusted with re-equipping of its own material and technical base and the bases of the other industries with high-performance and automated machinery, automatic technological lines and automated workshops. The output of this industry will have risen by 50-55 percent by 1985.

The manufacture of more, more different and high quality consumption goods should become a prime task for all industries irrespective of their specific activity, the theses underline. Light industry must increase its production by 25-30 percent and food industry by 25 percent.

Agricultural production is to increase by 20-22 percent in the eighth five-year period. The rapid development of grain production and its most effective use will have to become a strategic task of the five-year period. The production of animal husbandry will be increased with an accent laid on quality.

The amount of capital investments will go up to about 38 billion leva in the eighth 5-year period.

A 16-18 percent growth in the real income of the population is envisaged. The average annual pay will grow from 2185 leva in 1980 to 2500 leva in 1985. The lowest monthly pay will be 120 leva. The public consumption funds will be enlarged parallel with the growth of the national income with account being taken of the social effect of their utilization. Special attention is paid to mothers, the younger generation and the old people.

The foreign trade of the country will rise by 40 percent. The task of still further expansion and promotion of the economic integration and the techno-scientific cooperation with the socialist community countries is set. Measures will be taken to comprehensively implement the general scheme for specialization and cooperation in material production with the Soviet Union up to 1990.

Culture should become increasingly established as one of the major factors for the development of man and society, for the education of versatile and harmoniously developed personalities, the theses read further.

It is stressed in the document that the major task of the ideological work of the party in the next five-year period is the carrying out of such changes in the social and individual conscience and conduct which will result in an active vital stand and in raising the social activity of the personality in building the mature socialism, in solving the immediate issues and tasks and in improving the socialist way of life.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES TURKISH TRANSPORTATION MINISTER

AU091740 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov has received Necmi Ozgur, minister of transportation and communications of the Republic of Turkey, who is visiting Bulgaria in connection with the latest session of the Bulgarian-Turkish Commission for Transportation. Minister of Transportation Vasil Tsanov and the ambassadors of the two countries, Vladimir Gruncharov and Yildirim Keskin, were also present.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov was briefed on the work of the sixth session of the Bulgarian-Turkish Transportation Commission. The opportunities to further develop cooperation in transportation and communications between our two countries were also discussed.

Turkish Minister Necmi Ozgur was also received by Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES GREETINGS FROM CUBA'S CASTRO

AU100824 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Apr 81 p 1

["Text" of greetings message from Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, to Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general, on his appointment to this post by the 12th BCP Congress]

[Text] Dear Comrade Zhivkov, on behalf of our party and people, please accept our most fraternal greetings on your appointment as BCP Central Committee secretary general. We highly evaluate this added responsibility as head of the authoritative unit of Bulgarian communists, as well as the recognition justifiably given to your intensive activity as party head. I wish you great successes in implementing the forthcoming tasks, and express wishes for strengthening the relations of indestructible friendship which connect us.

BRIEFS

COMPUTER TO CONGRESS--Sofia, 25 Mar (BTA)--The "Electronica" plant has produced a new universal computer. Its first serial numbers will service the press-centre of the 12th Congress of the BCP. The computer is the biggest of its kind made by the socialist community countries so far. It is for the first time that the socialist electronic industry made it possible to build in a mini system magnetic discs of high memory capacity (29 megabytes). The new Bulgarian minicomputer is far more promising than all computers manufactured by the plant so far. The information and control it performs are equally good. The operative memory of its Izot 2104 C central processor is based on semi-conductors, i.e. it is quick and autonomous at energy drops of the main. One can communicate with the machine via a display. It can be successfully switched on onto multi-machine complexes. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1300 GMT 25 Mar 81 AU]

BURGAS AIRPORT RECONSTRUCTION--A celebration marking the completion of the reconstruction and modernization works of the Burgas Airport was held in Burgas today. The construction works were completed 6 months ahead of schedule. All modern planes can land and take off there even in bad weather conditions. The runways are also adopted for 300-ton super heavy airbuses. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Mar 81 AU]

YORDANOV AT PAINTERS MEETING--A theoretical conference is being held in Sofia today devoted to the subject: "The Party's April Plenum Policy and Bulgarian Painters." The conference is attended by Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Lyubomir Pavlov, head of the BCP Central Committee Cultural Department; and numerous public figures and cultural leaders, as well as painters. People's artist Svetlin Rusev, chairman of the Bulgarian Painter's Union delivered a speech. The reports and speeches that followed analyzed the development of Bulgarian figurative art and its multifaceted expansion in following the policy of the April plenum. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Mar 81 AU]

ROMANIAN DELEGATE'S SPEECH TO CONGRESS 7 APR

AU091840 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Apr 81 p 5

[RCP Central Committee message to the CPCZ Congress, presented by Romanian delegation head Gheorghe Oprea on 7 April]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, on behalf of the RCP, its Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and all Romanian people, we convey to the delegates at the 16th CPCZ Congress, to all the communists and working people of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia warm comradely greetings, a message of friendship and communist solidarity and wishes for success at the congress.

The Romanian communists and people are familiar with and highly appreciate the creative activities carried out by the Czechoslovak working people and their achievements--led by Communist Party--in building socialism, in developing the economy, science and culture, and in ensuring material and intellectual well-being. We are convinced that as a result of the implementation of the decisions that the present congress will take, friendly Czechoslovakia will make new and important progress in building socialism and raising the people's living standard.

We note with satisfaction that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples are continuously developing, on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, and of full equality and mutual esteem and respect.

A decisive contribution to the development of Romanian-Czechoslovak relations was made by meetings and talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Gustav Husak, which each time added new impetus to the multifaceted cooperation between our parties and states, for the benefit of both peoples and the general cause of socialism, cooperation and peace in the world.

Dear comrades, led by the RCP, the Romanian people have obtained noteworthy successes in building the new system, in rapidly developing and modernizing production forces, enhancing economic efficiency, developing science, education, art and culture, and raising the living standard. The 1976-80 5-year plan ended with good results; net production increased at an annual rate of 10 percent, and agricultural production 5 percent. On the basis of the progress made in developing the national economy, we raised the general well-being of the people: Real remunerations increased 29 percent as compared to the initially planned 18-20 percent. The successes attained in all areas of building socialism are the results of the devoted work of the workers class and all our people, of consistently implementing the party's policy, which is based on applying the general truths of scientific socialism and of the materialist-dialectical and historical concept to the specific conditions prevailing in Romania. Currently, closely united around the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, all our people are fulfilling the 1981-85 5-year plan and the targets of the second stage of the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

While consistently working to successfully build socialism, our party and state are also carrying out extensive international activities and actively participate in settling the major issues of peace and national security, and consolidating trust and cooperation among nations. In this spirit, we are continuously strengthening our cooperation and solidarity with all the socialist countries and are endeavoring to develop our relations with developing and nonaligned countries. In the spirit of peaceful coexistence we are also expanding our relations with the other states of the world. Our relations are resolutely based on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, renunciation of the use and threat of force--principles which are widely recognized in the international arena.

We believe that, given the current international conditions and the existence of grave threats to peace and national independence, every possible effort must be made to settle all problems among countries solely through peaceful means and negotiations.

The RCP and Socialist Romania pay special attention to achieving real security on our continent; they are resolutely endeavoring to ensure the success of the Madrid conference and to convene a conference on trust and disarmament in Europe.

Our party and people consistently militate to halt the arms race, to immediately proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to stop the deployment of additional missiles in Europe. We are resolutely in favor of eliminating the state of underdevelopment still afflicting a large part of mankind, and of establishing a new world economic order and democratic international relations based on full equality and equity.

Together with all socialist countries and progressive and anti-imperialist forces everywhere, Romania is determined to further contribute to the cause of peace and detente, cooperation and national independence, to building a better and more just world. The RCP will continuously develop its relations with communist and workers parties, socialist, social-democratic and ruling parties, with other democratic forces and with national liberation movements, in a spirit of mutual esteem and respect and of each party's right to independently establish its political line and revolutionary tactics and strategy.

Dear comrades, we want to conclude by once again wishing you full success at your congress, and new and ever greater successes along the path of socialism, well-being and happiness for the Czechoslovak people.

Long live the friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples!

May the cooperation and solidarity of communist and workers parties and of all revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces strengthen and deepen!

Long live international peace and cooperation!

[Signed] RCP Central Committee 8 Apr

CONGRESS SESSION PROCEEDINGS, SPEAKERS 9 APR

Speakers at Session

LD091358 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Petr Voldan and Ladislav Mikus report from the Prague Palace of Culture]

[Excerpts] Comrade Hoffmann introduced to the platform [of the CPCZ Congress] Comrade Milos Jakes, who delivered the report of the mandate commission. The delegates unanimously approved the report.

First to speak in the discussion was Miroslav Riha, production director of the Fezko enterprise in Strakonice, in the South Bohemia Region. He dealt with some forms of party work in connection with the application of the Set of Measures to Improve Management of the Economy. He stressed that managers especially should make a contribution to success; they must know how to lead, direct and educate people.

Vaclav Hajek, chief secretary of the Central Bohemia Regional party committee, spoke about the initiative of the working people in the precongress period. This initiative is an expression of support for the policy of the party.

Miroslav Dockal, chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth, thanked the Communist Party and its Central Committee for the care afforded to the young generation.

Jaroslav Hajn, chief secretary of the North Bohemia Regional party committee, dealt with questions of coal extraction in the region's lignite extraction basin. He spoke about the investment made in that fuel-energy base and expressed the need for investment projects to be defined in more detail and directed into the most important spheres. He underlined the aid provided by other regions to this area but said that there are still shortcomings in housing development.

Hero of Socialist Labor Karel Hanes, a Kladno miner, spoke about the importance of the teams of socialist labor.

Zdenek Kuska, mayor of Prague, thanked the Central Committee for the care afforded to the development of the city and especially to the protection of its historical monuments.

After the break, the platform was taken by Comrade Frantisek Toman, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party, who delivered the first message of greetings from the representatives of other political parties of the National Front.

He was followed by Michael Zakovic, chairman of the Freedom party, Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and Jozef Polak who (?on behalf of all three), expressed support for the policy of the CPCZ and promised that the conclusions of the 16th congress would become also their program.

More on Speakers

LD091408 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Petr Voldan and Ladislav Mikus report from the Prague Palace of Culture]

[Excerpts] The CPCZ Congress session today was addressed by Frantisek Tesar, chief secretary of the East Bohemia Regional committee of the party.

He paid attention to managerial work and underlined the necessity for consistent implementation of the resolutions of party bodies in all branches. He also critically assessed the results achieved in the East Bohemia Region in the last 5 years.

Ludmila Koukalova, worker of the clothing industry enterprise at Prostejov, spoke about socialist competition and cooperation between her enterprise and Soviet partners.

Josef Mevald, chief secretary of the West Bohemia Regional party committee, recalled the forthcoming 60th anniversary of the foundation of the CPCZ and dealt in detail with the results achieved by the Skoda enterprise, by workers in the Sokolov mining basin, in agriculture and other branches, during the past period.

Also speaking today in the discussion at the 16th CPCZ Congress in Prague was Marta Vlachova, deputy Slovak minister of education, Vladimir (Mlynar), director of the [word indistinct] at Opava, and Hero of Socialist Labor Vladimir Hajko, chairman of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

Closed Session

LD091456 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Excerpt] The 16th CPCZ Congress continues now in the Palace of Culture in Prague with a session behind closed doors.

Central Committee Elected

LD091918 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Excerpt] Delegates at the 16th CPCZ Congress, meeting in camera this afternoon discussed a report of the Electoral Commission and elected the party Central Committee and the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

BCP Greetings Message

AU091939 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Report on greetings address by Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, delivered to the 16th CPCZ Congress at a meeting in Ceske Budejovice on 9 April 1981]

[Text] Ceske Budejovice, 9 Apr (BTA)--On behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr Todor Bozhikov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, greeted the delegates to the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at a meeting in Ceske Budejovice today.

He said that Czechoslovakia has achieved remarkable successes in the economy, culture and in the assertion of the socialist way of living.

"These successes asserted Czechoslovakia as one of the highest developed industrial and agrarian countries with flourishing culture and high international prestige," said the speaker.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgaria, he went on, hold in high esteem the successes and the great contribution of Czechoslovakia to the strengthening of the unity and power of the defensive alliance of the Warsaw Treaty, to the expansion and improvement of economic cooperation within CMEA. Czechoslovakia is an active member of the socialist community and a major factor of peace and security in Europe and the world.

The speaker said that Bulgaro-Czechoslovak relations are developing on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Over the last five-year period the total amount of Bulgaro-Czechoslovak trade went beyond two billion rubles. Cooperation and specialization in the lorry-making industry, in electronics, electrical engineering, and the chemical industry are being considerably expanded.

"The Bulgarian communists and workers appreciate the relations of friendship and cooperation between Bulgarians, Czechs and Slovaks, between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. A motive power of Bulgarian-Czechoslovak friendship are the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Czechoslovak Communist Party, between which there are complete unanimity on all problems in the theory and practice of socialist construction, of the international situation and the international communist and workers' movement," said Mr Todor Bozhinov.

He stressed that the progress made by Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia and the further development of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the two countries were impossible without lasting peace and security in Europe and the world.

Expressing the concern of the Bulgarian Communist Party over the international tension increased through the fault of imperialism, over the intensified activity of reactionary and militaristic forces, and over the increased danger of war, the speaker expressed the conviction of the Bulgarian Communists and the Bulgarian People that peace can be preserved and strengthened.

"The actions of NATO's top circles brought about a freezing of detente, an abrupt aggravation of the international situation, a high pitch military hysteria and psychosis. In contrast to the anti-humane strategy of imperialism and the reactionary forces the Soviet Union follows a consistent programme for peace and cooperation," Mr Todor Bozhinov stressed.

He emphasized that backing fully the new Soviet peaceful initiatives the Bulgarian communists will join in the efforts at implementing them.

We, Mr Todor Bozhinov said further on, firmly reject the policy of the imperialist and reactionary forces, that of the American imperialism in the first place. We stand for peace and against war. The imperialist policy of confronting the Soviet Union and the socialist community is unforseeing and of no future, he stressed.

The speaker pointed out that the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union is capable of putting up firm resistence to imperialist instigations. Our concerted foreign policy points to the solely reasonable way, the way towards peaceful and just future for mankind.

"Armed with the same determination we are opposing the hegemonist and anti-Soviet policy, hostile to socialism and peace in the world, as pursued by the Chinese leadership, he underlined.

The BCP maintains, Mr Todor Bozhinov went on, that the communists the world over have assumed particular responsibility for safeguarding world peace. The BCP's work for consolidating the ranks of the international communist and workers' movement, is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. "This BCP's policy is assuming an extraordinary great significance now, when the imperialist circles have activated their efforts at undermining the unity of the socialist community and have stepped up their subversive activity against the socialist countries. The most important thing today is for the communists of all countries and for the progressive people in the world to reinforce their unity in action and to step up their struggle for peace, security and cooperation among peoples", he stressed.

Credentials Commission Report

LD092136 Prague CTK in English 1740 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 9 Apr (CETEKA)--Communists expressed their complete agreement with the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its Central Committee, led by Gustav Husak, and documented the unity and firm cohesion of party ranks at their annual meetings, party conferences and at the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, said a report of the Credentials Commission of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, submitted by Milos Jakes, alternate member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, here Thursday.

All delegates to the 16th congress, which was convened by a decision of the Communist Party Central Committee of October 9, 1980, were elected by regional and city conferences in Prague and Bratislava according to a fixed key--one delegate with full-voting rights per every one thousand party members. A total of 1,425 delegates with full-voting rights were elected to the congress, which corresponds with the number of 1,425,150 members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on January 1, 1981; 846 of the elected delegates are attending a party congress for the first time.

Further 26 delegates with consultative voice have been elected according to an approved key--one delegate per every 5,000 membership candidates--and 58 members and alternate members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee; and members of the party Central Control and Audit Commission have been issued. Credentials Commission checked the regularity of the election of all delegates and found their credentials valid.

The congress is attended by 357 guests, including respected party members and prominent representatives of Czechoslovakia's social, political and public life.

The composition of the delegates reflects the concern of the party for increasing quality of the membership base, especially for the strengthening of the workers core and workers in the material production: 35.8 per cent of delegates to the party congress are workers, and material production is represented by 827 delegates, i.e. 58.1 per cent; 67.3 per cent of delegates are workers by original profession.

The congress is further attended by 134 members of unified cooperative farms (9.5 per cent of delegates), 144 leading executives (10.1 per cent) and 110 delegates from the ranks of the intelligentsia active outside the sphere of production (7.7 per cent). There are 259, i.e. 18.2 per cent, elected functionaries of the party, relieved for the execution of the function.

The delegates with full-vote rights include 391 women (27.4 percent) which demonstrates their growing influence on party work. The largest number of the delegates--630, i.e. 44.2 percent--are between 36 and 50 years old; 39.9 percent of the delegates are university graduates and 15.4 percent have secondary school education which proves high political and specialized qualification.

The composition of the delegates to the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia proves that communists of both nations--Czechs and Slovaks, and all nationalities living in Czechoslovakia--work actively in the party: 1,015, i.e. 71.2 percent, of the overall number of delegates with full-vote rights are of Czech nationality, and 356, i.e. 25 percent, of Slovak nationality; 34 delegates are of Hungarian nationality, 16 of Ukrainian and Russian, 2 of Polish, 1 of German and 1 of Serbian nationality. Communists of party organizations from the Czech regions are represented by 1,057 delegates, and from Slovak regions by 368 delegates.

The Credentials Commission stated on the basis of varified full powers and participation of delegates with full-vote rights that the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia forms a quorum.

CONGRESS CLOSING SESSION PROCEEDINGS 10 APR

Prague TV Relay

AU101007 [Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech at 0752 GMT on 10 April 1981 begins a live color Intervision relay of the closing session of the 16th CPCZ Congress held in Prague's Palace of Culture. The relay opens with shots of the congress hall, where delegates and guests to the congress are seen taking their seats in the auditorium and the back and side rows of the dais.

At 0800 GMT a fanfare is sounded. While the camera shows the audience rising and chanting "friendship," high-ranking officials led by CPCZ General Secretary Husak and CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev enter the hall. They are first shown by the camera as they are taking their seats in the front rows of the dais, seated in the same order as during the opening session of the congress. At 0804 GMT, CSSR Premier and CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Member Strougal, who chairs the session, declares the final session of the CPCZ Congress open and asks CPCZ General Secretary Husak to deliver the report on the results of the election of CPCZ executive bodies.

Husak takes the floor at 0805 and announces the composition of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat. The announcement of each name is followed by applause. At 0809 GMT CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Member and Secretary Josef Kempny begins to deliver the report of the congress "proposal committee," of which he is chairman, in which he recommends the approval of various congress reports and resolutions. All these documents are then put to the vote and unamimously approved. At 0830 GMT Strougal proceeds to the "last item" on the congress agenda, and asks General Secretary Husak to deliver the closing speech. Husak's subsequent 15-minute speech is frequently punctuated by applause and chants of "Long Live the CPCZ," "Long Live the Soviet Union" and "Druzhba." At 0845 GMT Husak declares the 16th CPCZ Congress closed, whereupon the participants stand up and sing the Internationale. The relay ends with a shot of Husak shaking hands with Brezhnev and with shots of an applauding and chanting audience at 0853 GMT.

Husak Election Report

LD100918 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 10 Apr 81

[Report by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at 10 April final session of 16th CPCZ Congress, on results of elections to CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat, and the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission--live]

[Text] Comrades, comrade delegates, dear guests:

Allow me to acquaint you with the results of yesterday's session of the newly elected CPCZ Central Committee and the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission.

Our entire congress and the first sessions of the newly elected Central Committee and of the Central Control and Auditing Commission took place in complete unity and unanimity. In accordance with the party's statutes, the Central Committee has elected the following executive bodies.

Gustav Husak has been unanimously elected general secretary of the Central Committee of our party. [long applause and cheers]

The Central Committee has elected the following 12 members of the Central Committee Presidium: Gustav Husak, Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Karel Hoffmann, Vaclav Hula, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak, Jozef Lenart, Lubomir Strougal. [applause]

The following has been elected candidate member of the Central Committee Presidium: Miloslav Hruskovic. [applause]

The following have been elected secretaries of the Central Committee: the general secretary, then Comrades Vasil Bilak, Milos Jakes, [applause] Josef Kempny, Mikulas Beno, [applause] Jan Fojtik, [applause], Josef Haman, Josef Havlin, [applause] and Jindrich Polednik.

The following have been elected members of the Central Committee Secretariat: the general secretary and all the secretaries whom I have already named, and then: Marie Kabrhelova and Oldrich Svestka. [applause]

At its session the Central Control and Auditing Commission has elected Comrade Miroslav Capka as its chairman. In accordance with the party statutes, the Central Committee has endorsed these elections.

The executive bodies of the Central Committee and the Central Control and Auditing Commission have thus been elected. May I add that all the comrades I have named have been elected unanimously. [applause]

Kempny Report

LD101030 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0807 GMT 10 Apr 81

[Report of CPCZ Congress drafting commission on congress proceedings, delivered by Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Drafting Commission, at final day of 16th CPCZ Congress in Prague--live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates, esteemed guests!

The drafting commission, elected by the 16th CPCZ Congress, has worked in conformity with the procedural rules of the congress. During the congress deliberations it has met three times. In its activities, it proceeded from the documents submitted to the congress, from the discussions at the congress, from recommendations and proposals of the delegates submitted to the drafting commission.

The deliberations of our congress, like these of the annual membership meeting and party conferences which preceded the congress, testify to the fact that our party is unified in action and ideology, firmly bound together on principles of Marxism-Leninism and resolved to pursue the implementation of the general line of construction of an advanced socialist society, whose correctness has been confirmed in practice.

Our working class and all working people, have convinced themselves that this line fully conforms with their vital interests. That is why they actively support the policy of the party. The party deeply appreciates this support and trust, which were again significantly reflected in honor of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 60th anniversary of its founding. The people's creative, conscious activity represents a limitless source of strength for our socialist system.

All the deliberations of the congress unanimously manifested the faithfulness of our party and the Czechoslovak people to friendship and alliance with the USSR and all countries of the socialist community. [applause]

The relations between our fraternal parties and countries form a solid and unalterable foundation of the policy of the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak state. They are a guarantee of the further development of socialism in our country and its peaceful life. The experiences of the glorious Leninist party of the Soviet communists always were, and are, a priceless source of learning for us. This was again borne out in a greatly convincing manner by the 26th CPSU Congress which inspired us in the preparations and deliberations for the 16th Congress of our Communist Party, too. The direct participation and the speech of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, at the head of the delegation of the CPSU Central Committee, was also a great contribution to the deliberations of our congress. [applause]

On the basis of the overall deliberations of the congress, the drafting commission came to the unanimous conclusion to recommend to the 16th CPCZ Congress adoption of the independent resolutions on the main congress documents, on the proud reports and letters of greetings, as well as on letters and requests relating to intraparty questions and membership matters sent to the congress. The draft resolutions were submitted to delegates for comment on the third day of the congress. Having incorporated their comments, the amended draft has again been submitted to you.

[Strougal interrupts] Comrade delegates, before discussing individual, independent drafts of resolutions, I ask: Has anybody any questions or comments on the general report of the drafting commission submitted by Comrade Kempny? Any questions or comments? No! We can, therefore, come to the discussion of individual, proposed, concrete resolutions as included in your materials. [end of Strougal interjection]

[Kempny continues] And now to the individual drafts of the resolutions. In the draft resolution on the report on the party's activities and the development of society since the 15th CPCZ Congress and the further tasks of the party, the drafting commission proceeds from the premise that the Central Committee report, delivered by General Secretary Comrade Gustav Husak, analyzes in detail the results of the party's work and the development of society since the 15th congress in all areas of social life. It specifies further the line of our future course of action along the road to building an advanced socialist society, which was set out by the 14th congress and further elaborated by the 15th congress.

The report expresses the continuity of this line, sets out the main directions of the internal and external policy of our party, reveals principle problems, and points out ways of resolving them. It arms the communists and all the Czechoslovak people with an awareness of the current state of, and the long-term outlook for, our future social development. It succinctly characterizes the complexity and exactingness of internal and international conditions in which we shall be realizing the program set out by the 16th congress.

The report of the CPCZ Central Committee was received with agreement by all delegates of the congress. The discussion confirmed the correct assessment of the work of the party during the past period, and the course of action taken by the Central Committee in realizing the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

Full support was also expressed for the line of the party for the (?coming) period. Reactions, which have been reaching the congress from all corners of our homeland, also express agreement with the report of the party's Central Committee.

For all of these reasons, the drafting commission recommends that congress approve the activity and the course of action of the CPCZ Central Committee in realizing the program of the 15th congress. It proposes that the 16th CPCZ Congress approve the report on the activity of the party and the development of society since the 15th CPCZ Congress and the further tasks of the party--delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee--as a binding, political line for the further work of party bodies, organizations and communists in the course of further building an advanced socialist society.

[Strougal interrupts] Comrade delegates. We have heard the proposal of the drafting commission on the first item of deliberation for our congress. We have here a draft resolution of the 16th congress on the report on the activity of the party and development of society since the 15th congress and further tasks of the party. Who is in favor of this draft?

Thank you. Has anybody abstained?

Who is against? No one! The resolution has been approved unanimously.

[Kempny continues] In accordance with the congress deliberations, the drafting commission now recommends approval of the report on the activities of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, submitted by Comrade Miroslav Capka.

[Strougal interrupts] Comrade delegates, we have heard the proposal on the report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission. You have received a copy of the draft resolution. Are there are remarks? No! All those in favor, please. Any abstentions? No! Anyone against? No! The resolution is adopted unanimously.

[Kempny continues] Comrades, the 16th congress has received for consideration and approval the draft of the Main Trends for the Economic and Social Development of the CSSR in 1981-85. The precongress period, the results of the deliberations of regional party conferences, the position of the organizations united in the National Front, and the entire proceedings of the 16th congress, have again manifested that the economic and social policy has been, is, and will remain, one of the most important spheres in the party's activities. The fulfillment of the targets of the national economy decisively determines the maintenance and further improvement of the attained high living standards of our people. As demonstrated by the congress deliberations, a far more pronounced enforcement of long-term economic strategy, of high efficiency of production and quality of all work, is imperative for the achievement of the outlined plans. As Comrade Gustav Husak pointed out, the basis for this is to gear the economy to an intensive development, to improve the efficiency of structural changes in the economy, to make rational use of the production potential, a high degree of economy and the valorization of all resources, to improve management, to widely promote the initiative of the working people, a more thorough integration of our economy in socialist economic integration and the international division of labor.

To these fundamental requirements--which reflect the real needs and possibilities of the future development of our society, the greater complexity and demanding nature of internal and external conditions in which we shall be working in the 1980's--correspond the submitted main trends of our economic and social development introduced in the report submitted by Comrade Lubomir Strougal. The congress debate fully reflected the spirit of these requirements.

By their nature, the proposals concerning the draft Main Trends for Economic and Social Development of the CSSR in 1981-85 received by the drafting commission elaborate on and give concrete shape to the outlined program objectives of economic and social development. These proposals have been discussed with the delegates and they were informed that the proposals would be considered in the final drafting of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

On the basis of proposals by the delegates, the drafting commission has also made partial adjustments in the text of the draft Main Trends which, by their nature, do not change the essence of the document. The drafting commission has reached a unanimous decision to recommend that congress approve the Main Trends for Economic and Social Development of the CSSR for 1981-85. It also proposes congress should instruct the CPCZ Central Committee, its organizations, and the communists in the CSSR Government to complete the draft of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and submit the law on the Seventh 5-Year Plan to the CSSR Federal Assembly.

[Strougal interrupts] Comrades, are there any comments on the submitted Main Trends for the Economic and Social Development of the CSSR in 1981-85? No! I now put the submitted draft to the vote of congress. All in favour? Thank you! Any abstentions? No! Anyone against? No! The draft resolution is passed unanimously.

[Kempny continues] Our congress enjoys exceptional interest among our working people. We have daily received thousands of letters of greetings and proud reports on the fulfillment of tasks and socialist pledges in honor of the 16th congress and the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CPCZ. We also received a great number of new, valuable, socialist pledges from working collectives and individuals in industry, agriculture, scientific, cultural, educational and other institutions and institutes, from members of the Armed Forces and from a number of party and social organs and organizations associated in the National Front. You have been informed about them in regular printed briefings. The drafting commission recommends that the 16th congress should express its appreciation of this high political and working activity and initiative of our citizens--as an expression of their deep trust in the CPCZ and as a support for its policy--in an independent resolution.

[Strougal interrupts] Comrades, a draft resolution on proud reports and letters of greetings sent to the 16th congress is being submitted. Are there any remarks? None! Who is in favor of the draft? I thank you. Who abstains? Nobody! Who is against? Nobody! The draft resolution is passed unanimously.

[Kempny continues] The 16th congress also received letters and requests relating to intraparty questions and membership matters. The relevant draft resolution on this issue has been submitted to you.

[Strougal interrupts] Comrades, the draft resolution relating to intraparty questions and membership matters, which have been discussed in detail in the drafting commission, is being submitted to you. Are there any comments on the draft resolution? None! Who is favor of the draft resolution? I thank you. Who abstained? Nobody! Who is against? Nobody! The draft resolution is passed unanimously.

[Kempny continues] Esteemed comrades: We have unanimously passed all the proposed measures. By passing the congress documents, the 16th CPCZ Congress has created the fundamental prerequisites for the further progress of our party in the construction of a developed socialist society. [applause]

Husak Closing Speech

LD100940 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0827 GMT 10 Apr 81

[Closing speech by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at 10 April final session of 16th CPCZ Congress in the Palace of Culture in Prague; Husak speaks in Slovak--live]

[Text] Comrades, delegates, esteemed guests. We have reached the end of the deliberations of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

In the name of the members and candidate members of the newly elected Central Committee, as well as in the name of the newly elected Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCZ, I would like to thank the delegates of the congress most sincerely and from the bottom of my heart for the confidence they have given us, for their unanimity with which they have elected the highest bodies of the party between congresses. We highly value this confidence and wish to assure the delegates of the congress and our entire party that we shall spare no effort and that we shall do everything so that the program approved by the 16th congress shall be consistently fulfilled.

We see this as our pledge to the whole party, to the millions of our working people who expect such an attitude from us. This is our duty also to the revolutionary traditions of our party, whose 60th anniversary we are recalling this year. It is likewise our duty to our internationalist commitments whose unswerving observance we see as an inviolable principle of our party's policy.

The 16th congress has done a great and responsible job. I think we are justified in saying it has well fulfilled its mission, its duty to the party and the people of our country, and to the international revolutionary movement. [applause]

It has mapped out a clear line for our future progress. We are convinced that it will become an important landmark on the road of building an advanced socialist society in our country. The whole work of the congress was marked by a firm Marxist-Leninist unity with which the entire party has approached the deliberations of the 16th congress.

This irreplaceable source of the party's revolutionary strength, the guarantee of all our future successes on which we base our present successes as well as confidence in the future, is something we must all guard and consolidate. We shall strive to ensure that the firm unity and determination which have accompanied the deliberations of the congress should be equally reflected in the activities and all our work, in the practical implementation of the outlined program.

The conclusions which the congress has adopted will lead to the further expansion of our socialist country, to a happy, contented life for our people, to the reinforcement of the unity of the socialist community, progress and peace. We can rightly say that by adopting these conclusions the delegates of the congress have fulfilled the mandate given them by all the members of our party. [applause]

We are fully aware that the implementation of the tasks of the congress will demand high responsibility, discipline, a creative approach, initiative and a great perseverance in the entire party, in all spheres of the life of society. We believe our working people will adopt the program of the 16th congress as their own, that they will express full support for this program of further construction of an advanced socialist society in the forthcoming general elections too, and in firm unity with the communists, will exert all their creative forces and energy for its fulfillment. [applause]

In the unity of ideas and forces of the party and the people lies the strength of the party and the people lies the strength of the party and the strength of our entire socialist society. Our nations, in all their modern history, have seen from their own experiences that the central meaning of the work of the Communist Party is a struggle for guaranteeing their vital interests, a concern for the well-being of the working man. This was always considered, and is considered, by communists as the highest imperative of their activities. [applause] The preparations and the deliberations of the 16th congress met with great response from among our people. They become an impulse for a great upsurge of political and working initiatives of citizens.

From all regions and districts of our country, the 16th congress received thousands of proud reports and valuable pledges--as (?has already been mentioned). They have been sent by workers, farmers, members of the intelligentsia, scientists, educational and cultural workers, members of the armed forces and by many working collectives and brigades of socialist labor. They are a fresh expression of the trust in our communist party, of the full support for its policy. [applause] We thank them all sincerely for this expression of trust and patriotism. We deeply value this work, these exemplary constructive deeds. [applause]

Comrades! The 16th congress again fully confirmed the faithfulness of our party to the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism. We are pleased that delegations from 114 communist and workers' parties, democratic and progressive movements present at the congress could discover this fact for themselves. From the fullness of our heart we thank, and are profoundly grateful to, our dear foreign guests for the appreciation which they voiced about the work of our party and our people. We, at the same time, understand all the words of appreciaiton as a great pledge for the future. [applause] The deliberations of the congress were imbued by the firm resolution of our party to contribute as much as possible to the strengthening of the unity and intensification of mutual cooperation of fraternal socialist countries. In the strength of the socialist community resides our strength too, the strength of each and every socialist country. [applause] The 16th congress stressed again the inviolability of our friendship and alliance with the USSR, the unity of the CPCZ with the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union. [applause] We are fully aware of the irreplaceable worth of this friendship and alliance. We will always protect it as the apple of our eye. [applause]

Accept, please, dear Comrade Brezhnev, once more our sincere thanks for your participation in the congress, for the warm words of appreciation you voiced in the address to our party and to all Czechoslovak people. We highly value these words. They will strengthen us and inspire us in our future endeavors. [applause and chants of "Long Live the USSR" and "Friendship"]

From the bottom of our hearts we wish the CPSU and all the Soviet people further victories in the building of communism and in realizing the magnificent goals of the 26th CPSU Congress. [applause]

We wish the communist and workers' parties and the people of other socialist countries fresh successes along the road to a socialist and communist future. [applause]

We want to assure you, dear foreign delegates, that the Czechoslovak Communists will continue to do their utmost to contribute to the unity of the international communist and workers' movement and all revolutionary forces, and to their capacity for actions, and to support the just struggle of the nations for freedom, independence and social progress. The CPCZ and all our people will always stand firmly in the united front of the forces fighting for peace and security of nations. [applause]

We ask you, our dear guests, to convey to your parties, to the people of your countries, the militant, comradely greetings from our party, from the entire Czechoslovak people. [applause]

Comrades, esteemed guests, the past 5 days when the 16th congress was in session have confirmed that the CPCZ is honorably fulfilling its historic mission as the leading force in our socialist society. The congress deliberations have been a vast and true image of the manysided creative life of our country, of the devoted constructive work of our workers, farmers and members of the intelligentsia, women, young people, of all sections of the working people. They have provided an illustration of the successes which we have attained--in conditions that have not been easy--in implementing the conclusions of the 15th congress.

They were characterized by a frank, challenging and critical vision of all that stands in our way, that holds us back on our road to progress. The congress has also openly pointed to the complexity of the tasks and problems confronting the party and our entire society in the coming period.

All the speeches pronounced from the congress rostrum clearly revealed the fact that communists consider the mastering of these tasks as a matter of their party honor and responsibility. [applause]

We have all the necessary conditions for the implementation of these tasks. We are entering the coming years enriched by new knowledge, new experience, with the firm conviction of the correctness of our cause. We are also basing our certainty on the knowledge that we are not alone in our endeavor, that we are part of the world socialist community, that we can take advantage of all around cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. [applause]

In conclusion, I would like to thank most sincerely the delegates at the congress, the working Presidium, the congress commissions and all the comrades who have contributed with devotion to creating favourable conditions for the responsible work of the 16th congress. [applause]

This Palace of Culture has also stood the test. There have been no major problems though we were a little bit apprehensive as always when something is new. [applause]

Let us advance forward toward implementing the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress in the interests of further consolidating the strength of the CSSR, the unity of the countries of the socialist community, the positions of socialism and peace. [applause]

Allow me, comrades, to declare the 16th CPCZ Congress closed.

BREZHNEV GALA SPEECH AFTER CONGRESS REPORTED

LD101050 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 10 Apr 81

[Text] Today at the close of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the newly elected CPCZ Central Committee arranged in Prague Castle a friendly meeting with foreign delegations. Gala speeches were delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic; and the head of the CPSU delegation, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. The meeting took place in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

DELEGATES' CONGRESS-RELATED ACTIVITIES 9 APR

Brezhnev Meets CPCZ Leaders

LD092040 Prague CTK in English 1827 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 9 Apr (CETEKA)--A meeting between leading representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Communist Party delegation at the 16th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, headed by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, took place at Prague Castle on Thursday.

The meeting was attended by General Secretary Gustav Husak and members and alternate members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and its Central Committee Secretaries Lubomir Strougal, Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Karel Hoffmann, Vaclav Hula, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak, Jozef Lenart, Miloslav Hruskovic, Mikulas Beno, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Josef Havlin and Jindrich Polednik.

Present on the Soviet side were party Politburo alternate member Eduard Shevardnadze, Central Committee Secretary Konstantin Rusakov, Central Committee members Andry Aleksandrov, Aleksandr Botvin, Vladimir Gusev, Ivan Sokolov and head of a party Central Committee department, member of the Central Committee Leonid Zamyatin.

Leonid Brezhnev cordially congratulated the Czechoslovak representatives who had just been elected at a plenary session of the party Central Committee to leading bodies of the Central Committee.

Special attention was paid to the further strengthening of all-round relations between the two parties and states. It was stressed that they are developing on the solid basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Both sides highly appreciate the relations of fraternal friendship and mutual confidence which have been created between the Czechoslovak and Soviet Communist Party leaderships.

Both sides noted the successful development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, including such important sphere as energy. The need was stressed for improving mutually beneficial cooperation and specialization of production, especially in engineering. The participants in the meeting pointed out the importance for the study of each other's experiences from their economic and social development, so that use is made of everything that is best in the practice of the socialist economy and economic management.

In an exchange of views on international topics both sides identically assessed the present situation in the world and stressed the extraordinary significance of the active contribution of countries in the socialist community to promoting detente and resisting the designs of reactionary and imperialist forces.

Gustav Husak expressed Czechoslovakia's high appreciation of the Soviet peace proposals made by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th Communist Party Congress.

The participants in the discussion vehemently denounced the plans of the United States and some other NATO countries for starting a qualitatively new stage of the arms race, tilting the existing strategic balance in Europe and in the world in their favour. It was emphasized that the deployment of new American missile and nuclear weapons would gravely complicate the situation in Europe and create a serious threat to the security of all European nations. However, these nations desire quite the opposite--stable peace, calm life and fruitful mutually beneficial cooperation. Of special topicality in these conditions are the proposals providing for concrete measures towards military detente and reduction of the levels of armed forces positioned against each other in Europe.

The meeting took place in a cordial and fraternal atmosphere, with full mutual understanding for all questions discussed.

Chnoupek Press Conference

LD091818 Prague CTK in English 1637 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek spoke in this context about the view of the party Central Committee on the usefulness of communist and workers parties' consultations on various international political problems.

He said that if the [word indistinct] joint evaluation of problems was mentioned in the report on party activity and the development of society, delivered at the congress by Gustav Husak, then it cannot be explained as a proposal to [word indistinct] conference of communist and workers parties at summit level. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia means by this to give an impulse to the calling of international conferences on particular complex problems, such as was (?done at) the meeting of European communist and workers parties for peace and disarmament in Paris a year ago.

In the report to the 16th Congress the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has also spoken in favour of an early meeting of leading representatives of fraternal socialist countries in the interest of coordination of their economic policies.

"We reiterated the idea which occurred e.g. last year at the session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance Executive Committee in Prague," Bohuslav Chnoupek stated. He added that the proposal that some of the most important issues of development of the comprehensive socialist integration be evaluated by the supreme representatives of the CEMA member states appeared at the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and at the recent 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The promotion of cooperation with fraternal socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, is the prime and constant task of the Czechoslovak foreign policy, Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek told journalists reporting the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party here on Thursday.

"Our relations within the socialist community have reached in the past five years since the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia an extent unprecedented in history," he said.

Bohuslav Chnoupek emphasized that Czechoslovakia has been playing an active role in the struggle for the consolidation of peace and the policy of international detente. In this spirit, Czechoslovakia supports the new peace initiative of the Soviet Union, contained in the proposals put forth by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister drew attention to the willingness of the Soviet Union to discuss issues concerning detente without preliminary terms. The official stand of the United States on the concrete proposals [word indistinct] offers of the Soviet Union is not yet known, but it is a desire of all peace-loving forces that the reply should be constructive and conducive to the continuation of a dialogue in the interest of easing tension.

"Czechoslovakia is not a nuclear power and--as we have confirmed many times--its territory houses no missiles with nuclear warheads, and yet the questions of [word indistinct] the military potential with preservation of balance are of vital interest to us, among other reasons because our country is situated in the heart of Europe and on the borders of two systems," Bohuslav Chnoupek continued.

The Czechoslovak foreign policy asserts the view that contentious issuescan be solved to the benefit of all sides by way of a dialogue, talks and conferences. His method is also characteristic of the policy of detente, he said.

Czechoslovakia consistently strives to implement the principles of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This conference was the beginning of a grand road and the current deliberations of the Final Act signatories in Madrid could yield another specific impulse to the easing of tension in Europe.

Bohuslav Chnoupek appreciated the proposals tabled in Madrid by the group of neutral countries as a contribution to the application of the principles of detente in the political sphere. "We regard the extension of the policy of detente to the military sphere as most important in the coming stage," he added.

The Czecholsovak foreign minister was also replying to the questions of foreign journalists on developments in Poland and Czechoslovakia's attitude to it. "The Czechoslovak evaluation of the situation in Poland is identical with the views of the other socialist countries," he stated. "We wish that Polish Communists overcome the crisis phenomena with their own might. We believe that this is possible. At the same time we point to those forces in Poland which are not interested in overcoming the past, which immediately threaten socialism in Poland and are trying to organize counterrevolutionary actions."

Minister Chnoupek stressed that in Czechoslovakia too, the first attack of the anti-socialist forces in 1968 was made against the leading role of the Communist Party and against the alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

However, it does not follow from this that the further development of the situation in Poland will be similar to that in Czechoslovakia in the crisis-ridden Polish United Workers Party (if it shows sufficient will and resolve) to cope with the complex internal problems, strengthen the socialist foundations of the Polish People's Republic as a firm link in the socialist community."

Speaking about negotiations as the only effective and reasonable form of solving problems and easing tension, the Czechoslovak foreign minister mentioned the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armament in central Europe.

"In the eight years of the duration of the talks in Vienna, the socialist countries have been receiving no other but negative answers to their numerous and concrete proposals. Despite this, we see the Vienna talks as an important instrument in the clarafication of views, as part of the East-West dialogue. The Western partners should be more realistic and [words indistinct] political willingness," Bohuslav Chnoupek said.

On possibilities of solving the Middle East problems, he stressed that it should have only the form of dialogue with the participation of all sides involved. He fully supported Leonid Brezhnev's proposal to convene an international conference on the issue.

Bohuslav Chnoupek appreciated at the press conference the favourable development in the last five years of Czechoslovakia's relations with states having different social systems.

In the spirit of the Helsinki conference conclusions contacts were prompted e.g. with France, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, Spain and Portugal. The first place in this sphere of relations is, however, taken by Czechoslovakia's effort to maintain good-neighbourly relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria, the minister confirmed. He noted that the FRG has become Czechoslvakia's largest capitalist trading partner, and their trade turnover is soon to reach 2,000 million dollars a year.

In the successful development of relations with Austria the value of trade exchanges is now headed from the present 850 million dollars annually to 1,000 million. President Gustav Husak will pay a visit to Austria this year, reciprocating the visit by Austrian President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger to Czechoslovakia two years ago.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek also gave detailed answers to questions on Czechoslovakia's relations with the developing countries and national liberation movements.

"We have traditionally friendly relations, for instance, with most Arab states," he said. "We have been and are standing on their side in their struggle against imperialism and Israeli expansionism. For example, we have condemned the Camp David accords, because they did not approach the problem comprehensively and particularly evaded a high-principled solution of the fate of the Palestinians."

He emphasized that all contentious issues, including the tragic conflict between Iraq and Iran, should be solved especially by peace talks. Czechoslovakia therefore supports the proposal made at the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party that a new international conference on the Middle East should be convoked and attended by all sides involved.

Asked about the Czechoslovak stand on the possibility of nuclear armament of Pakistan, the Czechoslovak foreign minister said that Czechoslovakia definitely does not welcome such eventuality and regards it as a potential threat to the whole area. "We are interested in the easing of tension, in agreements on disarmament--and this view does not concern only Europe, but all parts of the world," he added.

Relations have not so far been consolidated with the United States, Bohuslav Chnoupek said, drawing attention to the (?part) of the Central Committee report which pointed out that the main obstacle is the holding of the Czechoslovak gold treasure in the United States.

He recalled that in 1974 the two countries initialled an inter-governmental agreement on the handing over of the Czechslovak gold stolen from Czechoslovakia by Hitlerite troops during World War II and now still held by the United States, and on compensation for American property nationalized in Czechoslovia. However, the agreement did not pass through the U.S. Congress. An official delegation of the U.S. State Department has recently visited Prague and it was agreed that the talks will continue, Bohuslav Chnoupek said.

SFRY's Culafic in Brno

LD091837 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0851 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Brno, 9 Apr (TANJUG)--The LCY delegation headed by Dobroslav Culafic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which is attending the 16th Congress of the CPCZ, visited Brno today. The other members of the delegation, Svetislav Simic, member of the LCY Central Committee, and Miodrag Vlahovic, SFRY ambassador to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, also arrived in Czechoslovakia's third-biggest city.

The delegation inspected Brno's cultural and historical monuments and then visited the well-known Zetor tractor plant. Addressing the workers and citizens who had gathered at a meeting in the plant square, Dobroslav Culafic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, conveyed greetings and best wishes from all the workers, working people and communists of Yugoslavia to the workers, citizens and communists of the CSSR. After noting that the material basis for the successful and extensive cooperation between the two countries is broad, Culafic said:

"Consistent respect for the principles of equality, independence, autonomy, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual respect for people's own ways of building socialism and for the specific aspects of their international positions are a guarantee of the further successful development of Yugoslav-Czechoslovak cooperation and friendship, regardless of the fact that we have different attitudes and views on some questions. I wish to stress that the LCY and the SFRY will continue, on this basis, to exert efforts to further promote the comprehensive development of cooperation and friendly relations between our peoples and countries and between the LCY and the CPCZ."

Speaking about Yugoslavia's socioeconomic development and the settling of problems encountered in the course of it, Dobroslav Culafic stressed:

"We have been without Josip Broz Tito for a year now. Faithful to our revolution and its humane ideals, we continue Tito's great revolutionary work. This is the road of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities, the road of freedom, independence and of Socialist Yugoslavia's nonalignment, of the strengthening of all-people's defense, the road of cooperation and solidarity with the forces of peace, democracy and progress in the world. The working class, all the working people and the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia are permanently and irrevocably linked with these orientations, which they see as a guarantee of the realization of all the historical revolutionary and life's ideals."

"Our two countries and the world as a whole," the head of the LCY delegation continued, "can proceed along the roads of progress and socialism only in the conditions of peace, security and international cooperation on an equal footing. Regrettably, today we face an extremely grave exacerbation of the international situation accompanied by the stepping up of the rivalry and confrontation between the blocs.

The increasingly frequent conflicts and clashes and the wars which are being waged in the world are threatening to get out of hand and have unforeseeable negative consequences. We are highly alarmed by the existing practice of threatening and undermining the sovereignty of nations and countries, the increasingly frequent use of the policy of force, military interventions, pressures and other forms of interfering in the internal affairs of independent countries. The arms race continues unabated, depriving the world of vast resources which are indispensable for development and piling up the potentials of the danger of war. The constant widening of the gap between the developed countries and the developing ones threatens to cause fresh conflicts, upheavals and crises."

"In such a situation it is the duty of the entire international community, of all the peace-loving, progressive and other democratic forces in the world to involve themselves actively in the efforts aimed at overcoming the crisis in international relations, reviving the process of the relaxation of international tension and extending this process to all spheres of international relations and all the regions of the world, halting the arms race without delay, settling all disputes and conflicts in a peaceful manner, building a new international economic order. An indispensable prerequisite for the consolidation of peace and security is respect for all countries' independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, respect for the inalienable right of every people to live in freedom and make independent decisions on how to develop. Strict respect for these principles is in the deepest interest of socialism. This presupposes consistent opposition to imperialism and all the forms of subjugation and hegemony, to every policy of force, intervention and interference in internal affairs," Culafic said, and went on to stress:

"The struggle for the attainment of these goals is today most fully reflected in the policy and movement of nonalignment. Consistent in the struggle for the democratization of international economic and political relations and actively opposed to any policy of domination, the policy and movement of nonalignment--from whose first conference in Belgrade 20 years have now passed--most deeply express the interests and goals of social progress on which millions of people of the world are pinning their hopes. They fully express the historical aspirations of nations for the attainment by them of their inalienable right to make independent decisions about their own destiny. The policy and movement of nonalignment have established themselves as a significant nonbloc factor in international relations, a factor which plays a major role in settling the crucial problems of the present-day world, a factor for the revolutionary changing of existing international economic and political relations. Together with other nonaligned countries, our country is exerting a great effort in this direction, striving for the consolidation of unity and action capability of the Nonaligned Movement on the basis of its original principles and goals and opposing any attempts to divide the nonaligned countries.

"Proceeding from these commitments, the LCY and the SFRY have always consistently advocated that every people, every progressive movement and country should independently decide on its development and that sovereignty and independence of peoples are sacred values which must be respected in relations between all countries regardless of their size and social order."

Speaking about the increasingly important results in the struggle for democracy, social progress and socialism in the world, in keeping with national characteristics and concrete historic conditions of each country, Culafic said:

"Practice is constantly confirming that different roads of struggle for socialism and building socialist social relations represent the law of progressive social transformation.

In these conditions, cooperation and solidarity of all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces can develop and grow stronger only on the basis of consistent observation of the principles of equality, autonomy, independence and noninterference in internal affairs, on the basis of respect for mutual differences and of the principle of responsibility of each party and movement towards its working class and people. These principles have been fully affirmed at the Berlin conference of communist and workers parties of the European countries in 1976. They are of lasting value and represent the basis for successful development of relations between all progressive parties and movements. Cooperation on these bases represents the condition of development of socialism and progressive social transformation in every single country and in the world in general. The affirmation of these principles in real political relations implies the need for full respect of stances and interests of each party and movement. Only thus it is possible to strengthen mutual understanding, confidence and cooperation. Consistent respect for these principles represents a necessary condition for releasing a new creative and democratic potential in the workers movement and in all other progressive movements in the world. This is also the only way to ensure real unity of progressive parties and movements as regards questions of common interest.

"Loyal to its revolutionary traditions, the LCY will also in the future as up to nov extend consistent support and help to the struggle of the working class and all other democratic and progressive forces in the world which are struggling for national and social freedom, for independence of peoples and countries and for peace, social progress and socialism in the world," Dobroslav Culafic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, said at the meeting of workers in the Zetor plant in Brno.

Nicaraguan Delegate's Views

LD091346 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1030 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] The Nicaraguan delegation at the 16th CPSU Congress is headed by Victor Manuel Tirado, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front. We have taken the opportunity of his presence in Prague and put two questions to him. The first one concerns the view of the Nicaraguan leadership on the policy of the new U.S. administration.

[Begin Manuel Tirado recording in Spanish fading into Czech translation] The new U.S. administration is a government which is trying to address itself to all world problems in a military way. It is trying to arm Central American states neighboring Nicaragua. It is endeavoring to build bases in Africa and in some Arab countries and it wants to deploy nuclear weapons in Western Europe. In short, all of this militaristic policy has destruction as its aim. We have to monitor it very carefully, because unless all countries, progressive, democratic and revolutionary governments and the socialist community combine their forces it may have catastrophic results. The United States is trying to militarize its economy and thereby tackle both its domestic and external problems. Simply, the United States is trying to find a military way out and this is dangerous. The danger threatening mankind is very serious and unless it is eliminated in a good time, it might have far-reaching consequences. [end recording]

Victor Manuel Tirado then replied to a question which was related to current Nicaraguan-Cuban relations.

[Begin recording] As we have stressed on many occasions, the Nicaraguan revolution is entirely a Nicaraguan one. It prevailed because it succeeded in underscoring national values and because it claimed a heritage of ordinary popular heroes, whose memory had been supressed and who had sacrificed their lives in the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship.

This is the very thing which the Sandinist Front followed up in its political struggle against the dictatorship and which above all contributed to its victory. Sandino was the great predecessor of the front, which inherited his legacy. Those who assert that Cuban military forces are in Nicaragua are profoundly mistaken. However, I can assure you if this argument did not exist, American imperialists would think up other theories. [end recording]

RCP Delegate Visits Ostrava

AU091804 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1748 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 9 Apr (AGERPRES)--On April 9, the RCP delegation led by Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, that attend the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was the guest of the town of Ostrava.

At the big iron-and-steel combine of the locality a meeting of Romanian-Czechoslovak friendship was held.

Taking the floor, Gheorghe Oprea highlighted that the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations of friendship had witnessed a continuous development and many sided diversification in the years of socialism and expressed his conviction that those relations would further expand ever more powerfully.

Hungarians in South Bohemia

LD092248 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Szabolos Udvarhelyi report from Prague]

[Excerpt] Some of the foreign delegations to the CPCZ congress, among them the Hungarian delegation, have visited various parts of the country. The Hungarian delegation visited southern Bohemia. A mass meeting was held in honor of the Hungarian delegation in Jindrichuv Hradec. Miklos Ovari, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee, said among other things that the CPSU congress had proved once again that Czechoslovakia, as a developed socialist country, had achieved significant respect among the peoples and official factors of the world.

Speaking about Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations, Miklos Ovari stressed that cooperation in all spheres of life is good and that it is making continuous progress. The increasing number of personal direct contacts between individual organizations and citizens has a particularly great significance besides official links. Tourism, which involves several million people each year, undoubtedly contributes to gaining a better knowledge of one another's country.

PRECONGRESS RUDE PRAVO EDITORIAL EXAMINES ISSUES

AU091855 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Before the Congress"]

[Excerpts] The delegates to the 16th CPCZ Congress will enter Prague's Palace of Culture having knowledge of our entire party's and a large number of nonparty members' view on the results achieved in all areas of our social life, on our problems, weak spots and essential requirements, on the tasks and goals that we must attain. Therein lies our great assurance that the 16th CPCZ Congress will work out a program of our homeland's further development that will be fully in harmony with the interests of the working people and their great internationalist obligations in the struggle for socialism and peace.

The atmosphere of the precongress period has always been somewhat different in our country from the days before it.

But one feature of this period has now come to the fore more distinctly and stronger than was the case in the past: It is the self-confidence of our citizens, their conviction that the advanced socialist society has resources and potential not only to overcome problems and shortcomings that are cropping up but also to reach higher goals and new horizons. The main, key source of that self-confidence, optimism and assurance is the CPCZ--its unity, cohesion, maturity, determination, militancy, its farsighted policy, its irreconcilability toward everything that is standing in the way of the country's development and its dedication to the cause of the workers class and all working people. In the past years the citizens of the republic convinced themselves of that anew.

It is known that the consequences of the economic crisis in the West have inevitably had an impact on some areas of our economy, causing all kinds of dangers for its development. It has not been easy to forestall them, to eliminate difficulties that have often been very strong, to deal with complex problems. Often we have felt those problems even when satisfying the citizens' everyday needs. But communists at annual membership meetings and district and regional party conferences, as well as nonparty members at public party meetings and on other occasions, have confirmed that under the difficult, complicated conditions the party's Central Committee has been systematically formulating directions of work and economic and organizational measures that were in line with the 15th CPCZ Congress, ensuring the development of the national economy and the maintenance of the people's high living standards. The 16th CPCZ Congress will surely state that fundamental fact, generalize the party's and the working people's experiences acquired during the difficult struggle for the country's development and draw up a program of a further upswing in building socialism.

It can be expected, however, that at the same time it will condemn each manifestation of self-satisfaction, in keeping with the opinion of all communists and other citizens. The protocols of annual membership meetings and party conferences, records of public meetings of party organizations, letters to the CPCZ Central Committee and readers' statements on the pages of RUDE PRAVO provide a broad analysis of weaknesses standing in the way of the party's endeavor to overcome the difficulties in our economy caused by the crisis in the West, be it inertia and compacency in the thinking of some managers and their formalistic approach to implementation of party resolutions, engineers' and research institutes' lack of courage, or slovenly work, lack of discipline and indifference at workplaces in factories, cooperatives and elsewhere.

This has been a responsible, critical current and it would be futile to seek in it even the slightest indication of panic, faintheartedness and lack of confidence. On the contrary, people who know from their own experience what resources our advanced socialist economy has at its disposal, who know what support it has in the form of the working people's initiative and what a clear direction of development it is given by the Communist Party's policy, such people can point out sharply and coolly our shortcomings and weaknesses because they are certain that we are capable of rapidly eliminating them.

The objective approach to the results achieved in implementing the line of the 15th CPCZ Congress--an approach marked by both unpretentious pride over successes and the determination to consistently eliminate weaknesses and shortcomings--is not, naturally, characteristic only of those who are employed in our economy. The period before the 16th Party Congress has confirmed with absolute conclusiveness that artists, writers and people working in the entire ideological front and other sectors of social life view the situation in the same way. The preparation of the 16th CPCZ Congress has impressively illustrated the unanimity of views and will of communists and nonparty members well-disposed toward socialism and our party's class-based, internationalist policy. The atmosphere in which the party congress will take place is favorable for working out a grand and exacting plan of work for the people of the republic.

None of this is changed by the heckling anticommunist and anti-Czechoslovak campaign being stepped up by imperialist centers before our congress. The party's 60-year history shows that the bourgeoisie and its helpers have always raised their hostile voices before party congresses. They were afraid of the ideas voiced at the congresses, of the congress programs' attractiveness for the working people. The present campaign in the West is a manifestation of the same fear. The unity between the party and the people, which has been so impressively demonstrated by the preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress, is for them a nightmare and it does not frighten them just at night, because they know that such unity constitutes the basic prerequisite to fulfilling the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and, thereby, the prerequisite for a further step ahead in building an advanced socialist republic. Let them howl....

WESTERN 'INTERFERENCE' IN POLISH DEVELOPMENTS

West, Not East, Interferes

LD081803 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Text] Answering the question who interferes in Poland's internal affairs, Radio Prague's analyst Stepan Babiak points out that papers in Western Europe, in the United States and even in China are rife with assaults against Poland. Tuesday's West German GENERALANZEIGER speaks of the East increasing its threat against Poland. The Chinese RENMIN RIBAO maintains that the Soviet Union is stepping up military threats against Poland and writes about the necessity of coping with foreign intervention. These quotations show what type of reporting is used in the West and also in China to create an atmosphere encouraging increased interference, United States interference in particular, in the internal affairs of socialist Poland.

A comparison between the fabrications about so-called Eastern interference in Poland and actual political steps taken by the socialist countries shows the whole issue in a different light. While West German readers were looking at the provocative headlines of the GENERALANZEIGER the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, was addressing the 16th Congress of Czechoslovakia's Communist Party here in Prague. Speaking about Poland he said: We may expect that Poland's communists with the support of all genuine Polish patriots will be in a position to counter the aims of enemies of the socialist system and of Poland's independence. They will be in a position to defend socialism, the real interests of their people, the honor and security of their country--end of quotation.

Only those who refuse to understand the meaning of these words will continue to distort them, just like sundry distortions are published about the Warsaw Pact military exercise Soyuz-81 which took place on Polish territory. Yesterday's news item to the effect that the military exercises had fulfilled their mission and that they had been attended by Poland's prime minister, General Jaruzelski, disproved what has been maintained by those who wanted to put the blame for their destructive plans on the socialist countries.

Something else is now becoming more and more obvious, that is, United States pressuring tactics against Warsaw, including alleged concern in connection with Poland frequently expressed, for example, by Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, the United States' delegate at the United Nations headquarters. Visiting Jerusalem, the United States secretary of state, General Haig, quite openly said that any steps taken by Poland's Government towards overcoming the crisis, restoring order and checking antisocialist forces would result in a deterioriation of American-Polish relations. And United States Defense Secretary Weinberger makes no bones about it that Washington is out to use developments in Poland for its own ends, such as, for example, unlimited arms deals with China.

All this points to the fact that Washington is out to aggravate the tense situation in Poland, in an attempt to boost its own militarist plans. This is why the United States is instigating hate in Poland. This is why it is supporting forces who would like to replace General Jaruzelski with Lech Walesa or the like of him. Moreover, a campaign launched over United States arms deals with China shows that Washington is making use of Polish problems even on a widely international scale.

CIA, AFL Maneuvers

LD091112 [Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak at 1800 GMT on 1 April and at 1955 GMT on 8 April broadcasts two installments of a U.S. film called "In the Service of the CIA," accompanied by a commentary by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Milos Krejci.

On 1 April Krejci introduces the first installment by outlining some aspects of CIA work over the past decade and concludes by saying:

"The CIA, that vast subversive and intelligence apparatus, tool of American foreign policy and tool of the export of counterrevolution, is now returning to the old unscrupulous days. Should anybody think that Langley is far, let me tell you that on the Arber Mountain in the Bohemian forest [in the FRG] directly on our border a short distance from Zelezna Ruda, the espionage sections of NATO, together with the CIA, have built a modern center for electronics espionage against the socialist states." At this point the film begins.

On 8 April, following the showing of the second installment of the film, Krejci notes the "evidence" which is produced by the film, and says:

"Particularly topical are those passages of the film which deal with the misuse of trade unions. In this respect, since the end of World War II the CIA has fully relied on the reactionary leadership of the American Federation of Labor [AFL], which it used for subversive actions in France, West Germany, Italy and other European countries."

Krejci goes on to expand on the theme of U.S. labor activities in Europe, and continues:

"Let us note some less known facts about the AFL. George Meany had a collaborator for helping with foreign affairs, a working class renegade called Jay Lovestone, who was an expelled functionary of the U.S. Communist Party. During his lifetime he was exposed as a direct paid agent of CIA. Irving Brown, an organizer of gangsters, still represents the AFL in Europe. [Name indistinct] is still the federation's representative in Latin America. And Lane Kirkland, who was the right-hand man to the aging George Meany, is now the federation's chairman. It is this very same Kirkland who is organizing in the United States collections in support of strikes in Poland. The AFL, which has never made a collection in support of striking workers in other countries, is providing active support to Walesa's trade unions. Lane Kirkland is supporting the Polish strikes because the country involved is a socialist country.

"The CIA has chosen Poland, which is having both economic and political difficulties, as the weak element in the socialist community and is using its agents in the AFL to support people who purport to be representatives of the so-called independent or free trade unions."

"The setting up of such groups is not fortuitous. In 1978 the AFL founded in Europe its Institute of Free Trade Unions. Originally its base was in Spain and Portugal. With Irving Brown as the director and Kirkland as the chairman, this Institute of Free Trade Unions is expanding its activity to the socialist countries. For this reason the words of the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, Gus Hall, spoken during his recent visit in Prague, are so very urgent.

I quote: Polish workers must not be misled as to the real motive of the support they have in the United States." At this point the program ends.

U.S. Paper Cited

AU092036 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 81 p 6

["(RSK)"-signed article: "Subversive Tactics Against the People's Poland; What the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE conceded"]

[Text] The last two copies (on 30 and 31 March) of the American newspaper INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE carried an extensive article by Joseph Fitchett on the tactics employed by the West (above all by NATO) with regard to events in Poland.

It is an article revealing that the West has worked out a long-range concept of its subversive work and defined the rules of political, economic and ideological subversion against that fraternal socialist country. The purpose of the subversion is obvious: to reverse the socialist social system in the Polish People's Republic [PPR], to tear that country away from the socialist community and to tie it to the West.

"If Solidarity survives, the Poland that would then emerge would be prepared for broad, new relations with the West," the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE expresses its hopes.

Likewise, the other things which this remarkably frank article contains reveal a lot about Western tactics.

The article shows that the West regards "Solidarity" as a tool to pursue subversive aims. It admits the methods used for granting assistance to "Solidarity." The newspaper writes: "Since the assistance that has been granted to Solidarity by the American AFL-CIO trade unions has attracted attention, the West European trade unions are granting it a similar kind of assistance, but in a more discreet manner."

The Western strategists are making use of both political and economic means of pressure.

"The West has an economic card in its hand. Poland owes the banks $13 billion, and the Western governments $10 billion. West Germany, the United States, France, Britain, Italy and Austria have been supplying Poland with foodstuffs and money, which actually was what enabled Poland to pay its debts....Since December, the Western creditor states have been regularly meeting to prepare further steps of an economic nature," the newspaper adds.

And what aims does this "economic assistance" pursue? To support the reactionary forces, to enhance dependence on the West, to make economic consolidation impossible. The article shows the Western strategy as it is: "To make the economic reform a condition for economic assistance." The kind of reform this should be need not be specified.

The Western anticommunist centers are setting great hopes on "Solidarity." They see in it the tool against the party, the government and the people's power, the tool to disintegrate the socialist system. This, too, the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE admits.

"So far Soldiarity has formed the strongest tool against the communist power....The success in Poland could lead to a change of communist regimes." As can be seen, the subversive plans of the anticommunist centers are far from limited to Polish territory.

The tactics of subversion against Socialist Poland are coordinated. The INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE makes possible a closer insight into the coordination machinery when it writes: "As regards their public statements, the official representatives (of NATO countries) are very reserved, so as to avoid being accused of Western meddling in Polish internal affairs. However, backstage the NATO members are active, deliberating about the Polish crisis, Western interests, as well as Western strategy."

So much for the admissions of this influential American newspaper. It is an instructive view of the backstage of imperialist policy.

U.S. 'Interference' Scored

AU091829 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 8 Apr 81 p 10

[Commentary by Aleksandr Kuranov, APN: "Washington: Overt Interference"]

[Text] Uncle Sam's tendency to moralize has been known for a long time. This time official Washington let the world know that it is "concerned" about the situation in Poland and voiced "anxiety" over the developments in that country.

The White House has even "advised" the Government of the Polish People's Republic "not to take any resolute steps" to rectify the complex situation that has emerged in that country.

Let us imagine a situation that would work the other way around. Let us imagine, for instance, that there is black unrest somewhere in Atlanta and the Government of the Polish People's Republic comes up with advice to the American rulers how to deal with the situation. The reader will say that this is improbable and he will, of course, be right because neither Poland nor any other socialist country has ever dared to interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign states.

But the United States thinks in a different way and is even trying to determine what direction the developments should take in one country or another. American volunteers are already departing for El Salvador to protect a handful of local rich against the anger of an insurgent nation. Weapons with the trademark "Made in USA" are flowing to Afghan counterrevolutionaries in a broad stream. And now open recommendations have been addressed to Socialist Poland, telling it how to behave.

Were it only a matter of recommendations! After all, Western donations have helped to raise organized groups of enemies of socialism in the Polish People's Republic--such as "KOR," "Confederation of Independent Poland" and other antisocialist organizations--and continue to sustain their activities. Those organizations play the role of an advanced post of subversive centers, some sort of a fifth column striving to attain its goals from within. It is known that the ultrareactionary notables of the American AFL/CIO trade union center alone have handed over more than $200,000 in support of antisocialist elements in Poland. And what funds and miscellaneous equipment for subversive activities have been shipped to Poland by American special services, through all kinds of "charity funds!"

The White House is trying to present the events in Poland to the world public as a "struggle of the Polish Government with the country's ordinary working people" and is even trying to pose as a defender of the Polish working people's interests. Do you not exaggerate, gentlemen?

The Polish people do not need such "defenders." The Poles understand very well what "Uncle Sam" is striving to achieve by interfering in their affairs and will not allow a restoration of the bourgeois order in their country, an order that in the thirties led the country into a political and socioeconomic bankruptcy.

The Polish People underwent the tragic trials of World War II; they remember very well who it was that really brought them freedom and helped them to rebuild their homeland from ashes and to build on the ruins of the bourgeois republic a new Poland, with a developing socialist society. The Polish working people see their country's bright future in unity and close cooperation with their friends in the socialist community.

West Emphasizes Poland

LD092310 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Excerpts] The current 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is commented on literally in all the world's countries.

Characteristic is the British bourgeois papers' coverage of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. For them nothing exists at this congress but Poland. It is not surprising because tension around Poland has been kindled especially by certain American and British circles, and these circles play the first fiddle even now. They are trying to maintain tension on Poland despite Brezhnev's clear statement expressing confidence that the Polish communists and all Polish patriots will solve the problems of their country by themselves.

There are indications that as far as the approach to the events in Poland is concerned, a more conspicuous, clear-cut differentiation of stands is appearing even inside NATO countries. This is also proved by an article in the West German newspaper GENERALANZEIGER. It is expressing openly Bonn's concern over the assessment of the situation in Poland as presented by the American Defense Secretary Weinberger at the Bonn meeting of NATO's nuclear planning group. Ruling circles in Bonn showed displeasure at, in particular, Weinberger's statement conditioning the start of an American-Soviet dialogue on medium-range nuclear missiles by developments in Poland.

Also, the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday made a similar provocative and destructive statement.

MARKO ON ANTISOCIALISM IN POLAND, JOURNALISTS

AU092021 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Apr 81 p 6

[Interview with Milos Marko, chairman of the Slovak Union of Journalists: "A New 'Seventh Great Power' in Poland; Varieties of Antisocialism With a Common Denominator"--place and date of interview not given]

[Text] At the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Session many words were spoken condemning the pressure actions of some groups of Polish journalists, especially Stefan Bratkowski's "Open Letter by the Chairman of the Council of the Journalist Union," in which he urges the resignation of "conservatives," pleading for a "social understanding" that would be "approved by the elite of the intellectual life" and so forth. The tone revives memories of similar statements by antisocialists in the Czechoslovak mass information media of the years of crisis. We turned with a request for his opinion to Milos Marko, chairman of the Slovak Union of Journalists, who analyzed in the publication "Black on White; Psychological Warfare and the Czechoslovak Experiment; Their Plans and Disappointments" the antisocialist endeavors of 1968 in our country.

[Marko] When reading the articles and opinions of some Polish journalists, especially S. Bratkowski, comparisons of his familiar dictums with similar quotations from the infamous "Prague Spring" of 1968 come to mind. I am, of course, far from claiming that those journalists' solidarity with and encouraging of the reactionary actions of Solidarity groups go by the example of the men who suffered a fiasco in the Czechoslovak experiment. It seems to me, rather, that they have the same prompters as the antisocialist hawks of 1968 in our country. The subversive centers of the West, however, have learned from the failure of the attempted counterrevolutionary reversals in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and are now in Poland offering new varieties of antisocialism. Even those varieties, however, have a common denominator--dismantling the state's power institutions and jeopardizing the socialist system. Using the heavy calibers of mass media Stefan Bratkowski and his like are firing at principled people, combining appeals for their "honorable resignation" with evoking a psychosis of brute force. While doing that they refer to "the nation and elite." At the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, termed Bratkowski's concept a way toward factional activity; and also Antony Pierz, a locksmith from the Chemitex Stilon enterprise, condemned Bratkowski's open letter as an activity weakening the party.

PZPR Central Committee representatives and other Polish patriots are rightly expressing their dissatisfaction with such phenomena. Czechoslovak journalists are alarmed by such statements in the Polish press, all the more so as the Council of the Polish Journalists Union--instead of commiting itself to fulfill the party's political line--speaks out against "dangerous extremist groups in the apparatus," demanding that they resign and give up their posts.

At the ninth PZPR session Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, termed such manifestations of journalism demagogic because "precisely demagogy is filling the gaps of the art of journalism." He stressed that the party counts on the journalists' commitment to the party's cause and to constructive work.

[Question] Wherein do you see similarities between the conditions in our country in the spring of 1968 and some phenomena in Polish journalism?

[Marko] The methods of such Polish journalists remind us of the ways employed by the angry men of 1968 who were brandishing Marxist terminology but regarded a return to the bourgeois pseudo-order as renewal, who replaced arguments with manipulation and facts with half-truths, who turned justified criticism into sheer negation and denigrated the system instead of analyzing subjective mistakes and searching for ways out. Also in our country self-styled elitists later replaced their aversion to partisanship with a bourgeois partisanship, and professional "people with an apolitical attitude" turned out to be reactionary professionals.

We recall that Sik and Goldstuecker, whose cosmopolitanism resulted in their emigration and unbridled hatred, were hiding behind the nation. We recall similar "pressure actions" by people like Liehm and Fris, fine-spoken platforms by people like Vaculik and improved "economic models" by people like Loebl. Most of these "saviors" today go begging to their masters in the CIA, and at home they have fallen into oblivion. Also in our country in 1968 slogans resounded in the editorial offices and at the rightwing congress of journalists to the effect that newspapers "should be an organ of those working in them." Ordinary people were asking in response what would happen if the employees of savings and other banks took a fancy to that slogan and coined a similar one. When assessing the developments in some Polish mass media we are confronted with the permanently relevant question posed by Lenin: "Freedom--for whom? Who will be served by the 'free insults'?"

Also in Czechoslovakia it was at first a matter of "small shifts"--the shift from criticism to negation, from analysis to destruction, from adding to socialism attributes such as "humane or with a human face" (Bratkowski's invention is "decent socialism") to anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. Later on they made the transition to completely upsetting principles and, instead of encouraging activity aimed at building socialism, to dismantling it.

S. Bratkowski's letter resounds with negation not only of socialism but of the most elementary principles of democratic centralism, which constitutes the foundation of a Marxist-Leninist party. Also, in our country we observed the formation of "horizontal structures" instead of democratic centralism. That is why Comrade Barcikowski stressed the need to condemn incorrect views and to conduct polemics against them because the question "toward what are you neutral?" applies not only to socialist but also to uncommitted journalists. However, the practice of various open letters and willful occupations of democratically elected institutions on the one hand and the suppression of polemics against incorrect views on the other indicate that an atmosphere of anxiety and terror prevails in Poland.

[Question] History has yielded a number of lessons confirming the validity of the general laws governing the development toward socialism, laws that are also valid for socialist journalists.

[Marko] On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the "lessons," we again profoundly realized its permanent and international validity.

Rightwing opportunism and "small liberalization" inevitalby lead into a channel directed by anticommunist centers. I recall the words of Gus Hall, who said in connection with Eurocommunist trends: "The question is not whether they are independent but whether they are still communists!"

There cannot be any other way for patriotic journalists but the party's Marxist-Leninist line. At the time of Prussia, Austria-Hungary and England's colonial power journalists assumed the position of the "seventh world power." Today upright journalists all over the world are fighting for the ideas of progress and peace. Manipulatory psychological experiments and sinsister plans cannot but result in disappointment and the sad fate of wanderers.

Some journalists in Poland are possibly just intimidated. Some of them are perhaps in the captivity of illusions, just as some upright Chilean patriots some time ago, who were cruelly silenced by CIA agents when voicing democratic ideas. That is also why Czechoslovak journalists are following with concern the developments in Poland. The path toward renewing socialism in Poland cannot be any different from the one embarked on by Czechoslovak journalists after the new CPCZ leadership took office in April 1969. It must be a path of differentiation within the party, of patient explanation, of devleoping ideological and educational work within the framework of the Marxist-Leninist party and under its leadership, of unmasking demagogy and enlisting those who erred for real socialism, which has proved its viability. Enlisting them not for the "from hand to mouth" practice but for a future-oriented development of the country and its economy and for strengthening its defensive strength and security by reinforcing internationalist bonds with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

LEADERS SEND GREETINGS TO HUNGARIAN COUNTERPARTS

LD042012 Prague CTK in English 1715 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 3 Apr (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak party and state representatives sent today a telegram of congratulations to Hungary on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of its liberation by the Soviet Army, stressing the successfully developing cooperation and the firm ties of fraternal friendship linking the two parties and countries.

"We are convinced that these ties will continue to deepen and expand in accordance with the interests of the working people of our two countries, in the interest of the common struggle for peace, socialism and social progress in the world," said the telegram, sent by Communist Party Central Committee Secretary and Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak and Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal to Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, President Pal Losonczi and Premier Gyorgy Lazar.

The People's Republic of Hungary, as a firm part of the Warsaw Treaty organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, contributes greatly to the development of mutual cooperation, to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the community of the ocialist countries, to the common struggle of the world's progressive forces for peace, detente and disarmament, the telegram said.

A telegram of congratulations was sent to Antal Apro, chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly, by Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Alois Indra.

BRIEFS

SUGAR BEET SOWING--Sugar beets will be sown on 63,000 hectares in Slovakia this year, 3,000 hectares more than last year. Domestically produced seeds will be sown on 43,000 hectares; the remaining area will be sown with imported seeds. [Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Mar 81 p 1 AU]

GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES DEATH OF SED'S GRUENEBERG

LD101140 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1040 GMT 10 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 10 Apr (ADN)--The SED Central Committee, the People's Chamber, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR announce with great sorrow that Gerhard Grueneberg, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, died on Friday, April 10th, 1981, at the age of 50 following a long, serious illness.

The party of the working class and the people of the GDR have lost in Gerhard Grueneberg a proven comrade who rendered great service in the building of socialism and the strengthening of the German Democratic Republic.

The following medical communique has been issued on the death of Gerhard Grueneberg, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo: After a long, serious illness, death occurred at 1040 on 10 April, 1981, as a result of a tumor and increasing lung and heart failure. The communique is signed by: Medical Officer for Health Dr Wiesner, and Senior Medical Officer for Health Dr Voigt of the Research Institute for Lung Diseases and Tuberculosis in Berlin-Buch; Prof Dr Tanneberger, director of the Central Institute for Cancer Research in Berlin-Buch; Prof Dr Wittbrodt, medical director of the government hospital; and senior consultant Dr Schwaan, the doctor who was giving treatment.

ARRIVAL REPORTS OF DELEGATIONS TO SED CONGRESS

LD091526 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] More foreign delegations arrived today to attend the 10th SED Congress at the invitation of the SED Central Committee. Among them were delegations from the MPLA-Labor Party of Angola, the Benin People's Revolutionary Party, the Socialist Party of the Workers of Nigeria, the Sao Tome and Principe Liberation Movement, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Bolivian Communist Party, the Mali People's Democratic Union, and the Norwegian Communist Party. The guests were welcomed by Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Horst Heintze, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, Erhard Krack and Dieter Mueller.

Iraqi Ba'th Delegation Arrival

JN091643 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1610 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 9 Apr (INA)--A Ba'th Party delegation led by Na'im Haddad, Ba'th Party National Command member, arrived here today on a visit to the GDR at the invitation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. The Ba'th Party delegation will attend the meetings of the 10th SED Congress, which will begin here tomorrow and will last for 7 days.

The Iraqi delegation was welcomed by Guenther Kleiber, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; the deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; and several GDR officials.

In a statement to INA, Na'im Haddad said that the delegation will also hold talks with the SED command on strengthening political, economic, cultural and social relations between the two friendly countries and parties. Haddad will deliver the Ba'th Party's speech at the SED Congress on 14 April.

Cuban Delegation

FL081732 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin--Juan Almeida Bosque, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Politburo, today arrived in Berlin at the head of a delegation that will participate in the 10th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] which opens Saturday. The Cuban delegation was received at Schonefeld International Airport by SED Politburo member Harry Tisch, officials of the SED Central Committee and Cuban Charge d'Affaires Mirta Alfonso.

DEFENSE MINISTER SPEAKS AT ARMY SPORTS CLUB

LD081420 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Text] The GDR defense minister today thanked the army athletes in Oberhof for their exemplary achievements in the 1980-1981 competition year. He said that the successes like the ten medals in international championships and the good results in European competitions demonstrated a great readiness to perform, political maturity and strength of personality. He was visiting the "Vorwaerts" army sports club. He stressed the deep political meaning reflected in the top sporting achievements of the members of the workers' and peasants' army. The ideas of peaceful competition between young people and the struggle for peace were combined. This was most closely linked with protecting socialism and the readiness to check the enemy.

NEW AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY PLANT OPENS

LD090850 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Text] Production lines for the manufacture of high-efficiency agricultural machines began trial operations in Guestrwo today, 3 months ahead of schedule. Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, told the workers of the enterprise, which is still under construction, that they were of great importance for the entire GDR and the CEMA countries. The plant has helped to bring about further changes in Schwerin Bezirk with its modern industry and agriculture. On completion, the new installation will produce over 1 million meters of roller chain a year. In the past, subassemblies of this type were imported at considerable cost from capitalist countries.

COAL EXTRACTION NECESSITATES VILLAGES RELOCATION

DW061205 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1106 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Summary] Madgeborn, a village in Leipzig Bezirk, has ceased to exist, and the brown-coal conveyer bridge meanwhile has "eaten its way" into the former village. The F-95 highway has been newly routed. Experts estimate the brown-coal extraction potential on this location at 95 million tons by the year 2000. Magdeborn had had 2,000 inhabitants, all of whom have been resettled somewhere else. Anyone wishing to build a family home is granted credits or support. "Compensation is paid for Magdeborn real estate, other values, buildings, and so forth. Moving costs are remunerated, and each household is granted a one-time payment which in the case of a couple amounts to M600, for example."

During the period from 1956 to 1976, roughly 70 villages or parts of villages were relocated in the GDR. Rivers, highways, railroad tracks changed their runs and routings. "This is the price of the coal, if one wishes to put it that way." Still, this course of action "is much more economical for us than would be corresponding imports." By the end of the eighties 11 open-pit mines will cease operations. In their place, 16 open-pit mines will be newly opened during this decade. The former open pit mines will then be recultivated, as prescribed by law.

JARUZELSKI TO DELIVER GOVERNMENT REPORT IN SEJM

LD092049 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] The Sejm will hold its session tomorrow. The agenda envisages a government report on the current situation in our country which is to be presented by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The PAP parliamentary correspondent has been informed that the report on the state of the economy is to be delivered by Deputy Premier Henryk Kisiel, and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski will give a report about the government's relations with the trade unions.

Over 20 deputies have already signed in to speak in the discussion. The Sejm Presidium and the senior deputies group [konwent seniorow] met today to discuss tomorrow's session.

The Sejm session will start at 1000 [0800 GMT]. From 0955 [0755 GMT] the session will be broadcast on the first programs of Polish television and Polish radio.

KANIA ATTENDS GDANSK SHIPYARD PZPR SESSION, SPEAKS

Report on Meeting, Speeches

LD100936 Warsaw PAP in English 0830 GMT 10 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Apr (PAP)--PUWP CC First Secretary Stanislaw Kania stayed today at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, at the invitation (?of the) biggest works' party organization on the Polish coast. The meeting was also attended (?by activists) of other works' party organizations of the Gdansk area. Present was alternate member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and First Secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Gdansk Tadeusz Fiszbach.

The starting point for discussion which developed during the meeting was an open [word indistinct] by member of the PUWP CC, First Secretary of the Lenin Shipyard's [words indistinct].

The overcoming of the crisis is a matter of years and not weeks, that what arouses especially bitter feelings, also among the party ranks, is the chaos in social and political life. (?The gravest) crisis evoked by development in Bydgoszcz was a particularly dramatic [words indistinct]. (?Activity) of party cadres is indispensable. The fundamental duty of party members at present is action and not [words indistinct].

--It is [words indistinct] of cooperation with Solidarnosc. The practice tested at the Gdansk shipyard proves that this is possible and necessary.

--The trend of civic concern begins to triumph in our public life. It is necessary to continue to create an atmosphere of peace and stability.

--[Word indistinct] party organization should show particular care for the character and [word indistinct] of the 9th extraordinary congress.

29 speakers took the floor during the discussion. On their own and their comrades' behalf, they spoke bluntly about most difficult issues, controversial views and opinions on the situation in the country, which was called dramatic, especially in the economic sphere.

Stanislaw Kania was (?asked to) clarify in more detail the causes and character of the present difficulties. The speakers suggested ways to counteract the feeling of bitterness and discouragement and steps to be taken in order to enhance the activeness and offensive qualities of the party. They stressed the immense expectations of party members and the whole society pinned on the 9th PUWP Congress. Congress resolutions (?should) serve successful development of the country, participants in the discussion underscored.

Many reporters availed themselves of the recess in the discussion to speak to Stanislaw Kania face to face. Asked about his evaluation of the discussion, the first secretary said: it is a serious talk, ardent at the same time. The discussion gives me a lot of information about the state of minds of party members and the problems which bother them. I shall try to use the ideas ensuing from it in the nearest future.

After the close of the debate, Stanislaw Kania took the floor. He said he felt close to the Gdansk party organization, to the coastal community.

Gdansk is a symbol of special values, the great power of our nation which [word indistinct] on this land, was able to raise Gdansk from rubble and make shipbuilding Poland's national industry. Gdansk is a symbol of the great strength and significance of the Polish-Soviet alliance. Owing to this alliance, the shipbuilding industry was revived. Owing greatly to Soviet orders, it developed very dynamically, the first secretary said.

"All that happens in Gdansk, here on the coast, evokes interest throughout the country and abroad", Kania said. The focus of this interest is Gdansk, the shipyard, its staff. It was here that seven months ago the great strike tension was (?broken) by means of political agreement. It happened (?by the) will of the shipyard's workers, owing to the understanding of the nature of the conflict by our party, its central bodies.

It was owing to the Central Committee that a conciliatory line was adopted, a line of relieving the strike tensions with political means. It was owing to the Central Committee and the resolutions of the 5th Plenum of the PUWP CC last August that the foundation of new trade unions which continue to bear the name "Solidarnosc" was endorsed.

In reply to questions asked during the discussion, (Kania) said that, in the face of party members' demands, it is necessary to perform a deeper analysis of the sources of the present profound crisis in our country.

Stanislaw Kania dwelt on preparations for the 9th party congress, which he believed would map out a programme marking a continuation and consistent intensification of the process of socialist renewal in Poland.

In reply to questions concerning a full investigation of the December 1970 years on the coast, Kania stressed that it was the greatest tragedy in post-war Poland whose political sources have been revealed. Yet, another, deeper analysis of those events will have to be performed. The results of this analysis should serve an integration of the society and not u[illegible]tting its peace.

The spe[illegible]elt on the issues of searching for ways out of the crisis, especially deep in econo[illegible], [illegible]uding the issues of agriculture and food economy, stressing the fundamental truth that under our conditions private farming has a decisive influence on food production.

Referring to the prevention of repeated crises, Kania stressed that the party's strength and the respect it commands are the key guarantees. The sources of the difficulties lie in an abuse of the universal truths of socialism. We must look to the proper functioning of universal principles and to what is spelt through our specific national situation.

Kania welcomed the news about good collaboration between the party and Solidarnosc at the Gdansk shipyard and said he wished for that throughout the country. He conceded that the climate of collaboration is largely contingent on authorities, but quite a lot depends on Solidarnosc.

Next he spoke about the (?main threat) to socialism in Poland. (?Socialism) has always (?had) its enemies, people who now pin hopes on the socialist renewal which are quite different from those of party members, he said.

Speaking about the international context of the situation in Poland, Kania said that there was plenty of apprehension among Poland's friends and plenty of hope among her [words indistinct] is now practically an enfeebled link of the socialist bloc, though at the same time our fraternal parties and countries have a lot of faith in the strength of the PUWP, in her ability to overcome the crisis effectively.

The meeting at the shipyard and news from other party organizations are convincing evidence that the strength of the party is growing, that the party is able to gain the trust of the society and the mandate of the nation's (?leaders), Kania stressed.

Works Committee Officials Speak

LD091634 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Unidentified correspondent's dispatch from Gdansk]

[Text] Exactly at 1430, in the sports hall of the Gdansk shipyard, a general meeting of the party organization of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk began. In the hall, places were occupied by almost 3,000 members and candidates of the party of the workplace and comrades invited from other party organizations.

Among them were the first secretary of the Central Committee, Stanislaw Kania, and the first secretary of the voivodship committee in Gdansk, Tadeusz Fiszbach.

After the welcoming of those assembled and the guests by secretary of the works committee, Jan Labecki, and the bringing in of the shipyard's banner, the meeting began with a presentation of [words indistinct] stand of the executive of the works committee on the current sociopolitical situation in the party and the country. He said among other things:

[Begin recording] We have convened today's meeting in order to convey directly to the comrades who arrived here our view and opinions, so that once familiar with our views they will be able to adopt decisions which will be supported by the entire party and will be approved by the community.

The greatest bitterness is aroused in us by helplessness. We see the homeland submerging. We do all we can in order to check this process. The works committee, acting on behalf of the shipyard party organization, sends dramatic decisions to the Central Committee, fearing to complicate the situation on behalf of the more nervous comrades ready to board trains and go to Warsaw.

So what? Not much reaches the Politburo. Such was the situation before the eighth congress. The same is true now despite declarations on renewal and changes in the composition of the Politburo.

We watched attentively the debate of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum. After the Bydgoszcz provocation, the punishment of those responsible and those who manipulated information about these events appeared obvious because the course of talks started in July 1980 was broken. The plenum failed to do so [as heard] though a large number of Central Committee members supported it. This was a shock for us.

This confirmed that renewal is only a paper declaration and that it will not be implemented in practice. The participants in the aktiv meeting on 29 and 30 March in the shipyard conference hall left disappointed.

The works committee, counting on the reaction of comrades and wanting to use all means at its disposal, convened this meeting today. We count on it that the joint voice of nearly 3,000 comrades will at last dissipate the activity of a section of the Politburo characterized by slowness and inefficiency regarding renewal and the party. Any further similar action of the Politburo and the Central Committee constitutes a direct danger for the party and this was expressed in the 30 March resolution.

We party members have always said and will continue to say that our place is among the workforce of the shipyard. We will not allow anybody to set us against this workforce. Our stance results from the understanding of the ideals of the Marxist-Leninist party, its tasks and its functions. [end recording]

Next, Jan Labecki spoke critically about the activity of the Politburo and the Central Committee. He stated that their activity does not fulfill the expectations of the member masses. In the opinion of the works committee, changes among the leadership are necessary to ensure a change of this activity. The party organization of the shipyard also critically assessed the draft election regulations for party leadership which were recently presented, since they do not implement the demands formulated by party organizations from throughout the country. The shipyard organization also considered that assessment of the activity of all those who are responsible for the present state of the economy in our country and of distortions of party work is needed as soon as possible to ensure a correct course for renewal.

Comrade Labecki stressed that all party initiatives coming from the lower echelons, which are very often discussed by organizations, particularly at large plants and enterprises, did not show party (?activeness) but much rather real concern of the comrades about the fate (?and future) of the party. On the other hand the party activity should be carried out with more enthusiasm by normal party structures.

To conclude his speech the speaker stated that proper preparations for the ninth congress is the most important task at present. All members must have influence on the character and course of the congress, particularly by the large workers' communities, large plants and enterprises. [Words indistinct] the congress which will map out a document similar in its importance to the 1945 PKWN [Polish Committee of National Liberation; Soviet body set up in Lublin in 1945 to act on the USSR's behalf as a provisional government] manifesto which will be the fulfillment of our expectations. All working people in our country will certainly join in the implementation of such a program of socialist Poland.

A discussion began after the speech by the secretary of the works committee. Up until when we left the deliberations to broadcast this report, six comrades had taken the floor. It is expected that Comrade Kania will make a speech in the closing part of the meeting. Next reports from the meeting will be broadcast in our first programs at 1700, 1800, 1900 and 2200. We will broadcast recorded audio reportage on the meeting at 2300.

Kania Asked 'Concrete Questions'

LD091710 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Report from Gdansk by Mieczyslaw (Serafin)]

[Excerpts] As we have previously reported, a general meeting of the works party organization in the Gdansk shipyard is continuing.

After a break of 30 minutes the discussion resumed at 1715. The critical speeches deal mainly with the problems of party work, work of the Politburo and the Central Committee, behavior of individual members of the highest party leadership and financial issues.

Concrete questions are being asked of Stanislaw Kania.

Stressing the urgency of the calling of the ninth extraordinary party congress, Comrade [name indistinct] from the K-1 section of the Gdansk shipyard gave the following description of one of the tasks of this highest party forum:

[Begin recording] The congress must answer the question: How is the correct division of rights, duties and responsibilities among the party authorities and the state authorities to be carried out? As we know, so far the formula applied up to now--the party leads and the government governs--has not passed the practical test of our political and state life. It has created a set of relationships between the party and the state apparatus whereby mutual responsibility has been obscured and the effectiveness of the governing of the country has been adversely affected. The party must be an organization of the working masses and not a super-government. The party should concentrate on the following functions: programming and laying down guidelines for socio-economic development, control of the political implementation of the established goals, control of the functioning of the established economic systems and socioeconomic systems and verification of the doctrine of the Polish model of socialism.

The guarantee that the party should not get itself involved in the direct management and undertaking of decisions on concrete matters should be laid down in a statute rule saying that the same people must not have party and state posts at the same time. [applause] At the same time, it is necessary to depart from the practice of central party and state organs adopting joint resolutions and making joint decisions. The duties and rights of the party authorities at all levels, including the first secretary of the Central Committee, must be clearly defined. The period of time during which party posts may be held must be limited. The Politburo should base its decisions on the resolutions of the Central Committee plenum and not conversely as has been taking place until now. [end recording]

The meeting of the shipyard party organization has now been going on for 3 hours. So far 17 speakers have taken the floor. Because of the large number of people wanting to speak the time for each speech has been cut down to 10 minutes.

Party Members Speak

LD091950 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] The meeting of the Lenin Shipyard party organization, which has been going on for 5 hours in the sports hall, has at present adjourned for a break. To date almost 30 speakers have taken the floor in the discussion. We are now going to present excerpts from some of the statements. Here is the voice of member of the basic party organization in Department K-1, Comrade (Bratulewicz):

[Begin recording] We held a meeting in Department K-1 yesterday in order to be able to represent with dignity and matter of factness at today's meeting the feelings and views of all comrades of the K-1 party organization. At the meeting a discussion developed which unequivocally expressed concern for the party's good; for its unity and for its joint activity; for a constructive dialogue between the basic party organization and the grassroots; for the good of the entire nation, which should be the result of the activity of the nation's leading force--the PZPR.

There was talk of a sense of international security, which is a result of our alliances, of our socialist community. The discussion indicated the slowness in revealing all those comrades who in recent years filled high party posts and, taking advantage of their powers, committed shameful acts which caused a split in party unity and in the nation's unity; and which enabled, in a dishonorable way, individual accumulation of wealth. Regarding those comrades we demand legal proceedings and the drawing of far-reaching party conclusions. The circle must be broken in the sphere of high posts in the party and state machinery. The transfer of comrades who do not pass the test from one post to another is unacceptable. This fact definitely harms the effectiveness of sociopolitical and economic renewal.

Everyone knows that a considerable number of first secretaries of voivodship committees, who in the post-August period lost the mandate of trust from their regions and were forced or else voluntarily resigned from the functions of first secretary of voivodship committees, are still members of the Central Committee [words indistinct].

On behalf of whose interests do those comrades, at plenary meetings of the Central Committee, present their stands on questions which are so very difficult and complex at present? On questions where the feelings of the party grassroots and the nation absolutely must be presented, because their cause is of national significance? [loud applause]

Out of concern for the party's credibility and its unity, at the ninth congress it must be brought about that only those comrades who have a delegate's mandate valid for the entire term should be elected to the supreme authorities. This mandate must begin at the level of the works conference. Then one will be able to say with complete conviction that delegates to the ninth congress and the new authorities elected at it will act on behalf of the general national good and on behalf of the renewal of socialism. [loud applause][end recording]

Here is an excerpt from the speech made by Kazimierz Krakowiak, from the Gdansk repair yard:

[Begin recording] Comrades, at today's meeting I would like to take up the problem of the role of the PZPR in the renewal of political and economic life. The leading role of the party is guaranteed constitutionally. But this is not enough. This leading role must be reflected by confidence in the party's actions in the political and economic fields, in the confidence of all working people in the people who are leading them. One can speak about the leading role of the party only when members of the party and nonparty people will use the term "our party," because the party's highest task towards the working people is to realize their expectations.

At this time the party must clearly define its goals. It must outline its undertakings aimed at regaining the trust of the nation; it must define the fundamental guarantees for counteracting the recurring political and economic crises; it must define a constructive and socially accepted program for socioeconomic development for the next few years.

Much is being said in precongress discussions about the loss of contacts between rank-and-file members of the party and the leadership, about the distortion of the fundamental norms of coexistence in the socialist state, about the disappearance of democracy within the party, of which the election law is part. The law in force has led to a situation in which people without authentic support of the party masses could be, and were, elected.

We have worked out and tested in the election to the works committee an election law which guarantees that if it is introduced at elections at all levels, inclusive of elections to the Central Committee, then only comrades who enjoy real support of the lower levels of the party and enjoy their confidence will be elected.

The next congress must carry out changes in the statute which will guarantee that there will be no repeat of the present phenomena. Such changes are contained in the works' materials and of the voivodship precongress commission.

(?We support) renewal of political life and the gradual solution of conflicts through talks and negotiations. Unfortunately, it must be said that in the course of talks the mass media reminds us of the Polish raison d'etat [words indistinct] thus deepening the tensions.

We must consider it: Must we have conflicts? There is no lack of understanding of the changes that have taken place in the country in the political and social spheres by people who are in authority. We have proved this, among others, in the resolution of the works' election conference.

The final example of this can be found in the events that took place in Bydgoszcz. At the very beginning of the events in local television and radio and in the press were appeals for prudence and calls against taking final decisions before the situation has been explained by organs especially appointed to do so.

The next day we learned of the attitude of the Politburo which unequivocally pointed (?the wrong way). This poses the question: What was the basis of this attitude by the Politburo?

After the Ninth Central Committee Plenum the organizational processes of basic and works party organizations against the resolution adopted at the plenum intensified. This is an expression of a lack of confidence in the Politburo, the Secretariat and also in some members of the Central Committee who were unable to make the resolution reflect the discussion that took place.

We find it difficult to understand the attitudes of members of the Central Committee who did not participate in voting. The lack of confidence, which has been growing lately, in decisions of the Politburo and its composition stems from the fact that in the vast majority this constitutes a rotation of the same people, who for various reasons had to leave jobs held in the party apparatus. We see the need to introduce new comrades into the Politburo, men able to introduce new ways of thinking, adequate in the current politial situation.

What we expect, first of all, of the next plenum is that it should present a political offer to the nation, that it should announce the actual date of the congress, that it should work out the role of the mass media--one that would guarantee the veracity and honesty of the information they convey.

Daily realities show severe judges and truth is always naked. The nation, members of the party every day react to the honest work of publicists. The nation reacts with indignation to news and comments produced by television news on day-to-day events, topical events, which can almost be touched.

The appraisals made by television news experts have nothing in common with our own observations and appraisals. White spaces have begun to appear in our newspapers. The quite often not quite honest comments in TRYBUNA LUDU which are not objective enough arouse understandable opposition and in this respect (?create) the air of lack of confidence in these organs of our information services.

Our belief is that the veracity of our news media cannot be built on half-truths. Veracity and honesty of information is needed from the start--right now. Veracity constitutes one of the fundamental conditions for restoring confidence in the work of our party. [end recording]

Many speeches touched upon the activity of the Solidarity union. Here is what Wlodzimierz Wrzesniak has to say:

[Begin recording] Statements by certain members of the Politburo concerning Solidarity often give rise to great controversy. A great majority of party members in the Gdansk shipyard are at the same time members of Solidarity. More than 90 percent of our workforce are members of Solidarity. It is also like this in other great plants all over the country. The basic link of this union are the workers, the same people from whom the PZPR stems. The resolutions of the Politburo, the part of them concerning Solidarity, do not correspond to the feelings of the party rank-and-file and of our workforce. Dissemination of slogans on [word indistinct] counterrevolution allegedly fomented by the present leadership of Solidarity is not fully founded. The same working class which called to life Solidarity and its present leadership (?will recall) each member of the Solidarity leadership who will lose credibility and trust [of the working class]. [applause]

The fact that the present leadership of Solidarity enjoys credibility--despite serious divergencies in their midst--has been shown clearly by the recent mass participation in the warning strike. This is the reality.

I am stressing once more that the guarantee of the socialist character of Solidarity is shown by the fact that an overwhelming majority of the working class employed in large industry are members of Solidarity. Considering the above, it appears necessary and purposeful to go out and meet Solidarity as soon as possible and to treat it as a partner, not in words but in deeds. [applause]

The (?members) of my basic party organization do not understand why there is opposition to the registration of Rural Solidarity.

Leaving aside the legal aspects, which in our opinion do not constitute an essential impediment, raising obstacles against the registration of this union undermines the confidence and credibility of statements on the durability of individual farming. [end recording]

Secretary Urges Calm at Congress

LD092254 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Speech by Jozef Liszewski, member of the Lenin Shipyard party organization, at 9 April meeting of the Lenin Shipyard party organization in the Gdansk shipyard hall--recorded]

[Text] Seven months have passed since the memorable month of August, yet many fundamental problems of a political or economic nature have not yet been implemented, problems which in our opinion are important, such as the ninth congress of the party--will it be extraordinary?

We do not understand why the cases against persons who have brought Poland to an economic tragedy and the party to losing its links with the masses, which constitutes the basis of veracity of the party, have not been finalized. I have in mind sentences.

We do not understand why there has still been no report to the nation about the state of the country's economy; its early publication was announced several times. Why is it that we still do not know the methods and directions of use of the sum of $24 billion, which was Poland's indebtedness by the end of last year? [applause]

We understand that the government, under the leadership of Comrade General Jaruzelski, which enjoys the support and esteem of the nation, is working in exceptionally difficult economic and political conditions, under maximum mental and physical stress. But it is this situation that demands decisions, chiefly for the implementation of the social agreements reached in Gdansk, Jastrzebie and Szczecin.

Perhaps it is necessary and justified to return to the dates fixed in these agreements [words indistinct]. Yes, but naturally with a full guarantee for their implementation. The guarantor will be found in a renewed party, whose program will be accepted by the whole nation.

But it is not acceptable that we should have to live through the various stages of agreements with trade unions under the pressure of strikes and in 5-minutes to 12 situations, because we all know that these 5 minutes might be exceeded by 1 second--and then there will be a tragedy.

That is why the government must face the facts; it must come out with proposals in good time. For example, why should general consultations not be started right now on the inevitable rise in prices of foodstuffs?

It is obvious that it is necessary to (?obtain) more millions of dollars, but why is the nation not told now what the millions will be spent on?

The situation demands that we concentrate on agriculture, and it seems that agriculture can start production without importing means before any other sector of the economy can do so. But here, too, understanding has to be reached with regard to farmers having the freedom to form associations, although personally, I believe that the control by the whole nation over such an association must be guaranteed. Thus, in the end, we shall build a socialist system.

In addition to agriculture, the most important problem is an in-depth, rigorous and conscious introduction of economic reforms, small and large, which we should already be discussing.

We must realize now that [passage indistinct] and the highest administrative organs, to these people, such as to the working class which is losing employment through the closing of factories. We must go out and meet them with complete proposals for changing employment.

Summing up [words indistinct] some economic aspects, I must say that we are fully aware of the extent and of the years of the hard work which we have to undertake. But we must have a concrete plan for the processes of stabilization and a guarantee that this hard work will in the future produce decisive results.

At present, the nation is aware of the easing of tensions after the Bydgoszcz conflict, a conflict which must be the last on such a scale.

We emphasize the consistent continuation of the path taken by Comrade Kania in August of seeking political solutions to all disputes in Poland. All the same, it can be observed that the most important decisions made by the Politburo and the Central Committee have been made after hard discussions held at the last moment. This must be avoided and it is in this direction that the criticisms from the party masses are being made.

What can the Polish nation get today? Nothing, in fact. There are shortages of everything. But this is not true. It can, and it must be given the truth and honest information. This is the most important thing today and this is in the interest of the party.

It is we--the party masses--who will say: There are antisocialist forces in this action; but this should be followed immediately by names or the name of the organization, as well as facts and proofs.

Such a formulation is the most serious accusation in a socialist state and it should not be played around with. If we use it correctly, then every time it is used the Politburo and the Central Committee and all of us, PZPR members, will be able to rebuff these forces.

To fulfill the leadership functions in our party it is not enough to be a communist ideologist. Where are democracy, morals, proper qualifications or the servile role toward the party masses?

Hence the criticism of the resolutions of the ninth Central Committee plenum and members of the Politburo contained in the resolution of our party organization.

Before us lies the ninth extraordinary party congress. It is a congress which must be authentically our congress, which means our delegates will be there, elected in compliance with the new elections law and every member of the Central Committee will have a mandate from his basic party organization.

But these matters have to be guaranteed and you, Comrade First Secretary Kania, will have the guarantee that those among the delegates who will become members of the Central Committee and the Politburo will not only be representatives of the party, but also of constructive discussion which, as you have stressed, is so very much needed within the leadership of the party.

The ninth congress will undoubtedly raise the most important problems of the country and all the party's problems. Here we must emphasize the changes in the statute contained in the resolution of the Lenin Shipyard's party organization and in the material of the voivodship precongress commission.

Such amendments in the election law constitute a guarantee that never again will there be a December or August.

We must devote the time before the congress mainly to preparing ourselves for it. It has to be an extraordinary congress. That is why I take the liberty to formulate a thought which does not have to remain a thought only.

Colleagues, members of the party organization of the Gdansk shipyard named after Lenin:

During August we stuck together to the every end. We, members of the party organization in the shipyard, were also with you at the successive, significant stages of the work of the union.

I therefore propose that as employees of our shipyard we should address all Solidarity organizations in enterprises, regional and national, and also branch and autonomous trade unions to make a declaration that during the preparatory period, as well as during the congress, during the culminating part of our renewal movement we, together, will guarantee complete calm in the country. After all, we all live in Poland and above all, we are Poles. [applause]

Kania Speech

LD100242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2123 GMT 9 Apr 81

["Extensive excerpts" of speech by Stanislaw Kania, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, concluding the nearly 7-hour debate at the meeting of the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard party organization on 9 April--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, each one of us feels the high temperature in this room. Probably not for the first time in the last few months but no doubt for the first time [words indistinct]. I think that every party activist could do with such universities [uniwersytety] as this one here today. A party secretary can manage without it with difficulty. It becomes virtually impossible to perform the highest functions in the party, or really any function, without profound understanding and knowledge of the views of the party members, their ideological condition and knowledge of their strength.

I am pleased by my presence at this meeting. I am aware of the importance of the Gdansk coast and the role of your party organization. For over 10 years I have felt close to the Gdansk party organization and the community of people of the coast. I feel bound to you by my duty as a [Sejm] deputy, but also by my warm feelings for the people of this land. Gdansk symbolizes special values. The great force of our nation was able, here in this region, to build Gdansk from ruins and to create the shipbuildings industry, the national industry of Poland. This is also a proof of the great capabilities of the party. Gdansk symbolizes great strength and the national importance of the Polish-Soviet alliance, thanks to which the city ceased to be called Danzig and became Gdansk forever. Thanks to this alliance, the shipbuilding industry was reborn. Thanks to the Soviet orders, to a great degree the very dynamic development of this industry was ensured. Today, and for the future, this is considerablly significant.

All that is happening in Gdansk and on the coast has awakened interest in the whole country and abroad. One can say that the hub of events in Gdansk is your shipyard, your collective first of all.

Seven months ago a great strike tension ended here by political means, by way of agreement. This was due to the will of the workforce of the yard and thanks to the understanding of the nature of the conflict by our party and by its central bodies. It was thanks to the Central Committee that a line of agreement was adopted, the line of resolving strike tension by political means. It was thanks to the Central Committee and its resolutions at the fifth plenum that agreement was expressed for the formation of new trade unions, which today bear the name of Solidarity.

It was the party that led the country on the path of socialist renewal. Its main line will be mapped out by the development of socialist democracy, the renewal of the trade union movement, the modernization of the government and management of the national economy, the restoration of the principles of justice, consistent observance of moral norms in public life, the introduction of Leninist norms in the operation of the party and the introduction of such methods for the performance of the leading role of the party, which will awaken the social activity of all forces which wish People' Poland well--People's Poland which will consolidate the links between the party and the nation.

Such a line was formulated at the sixth and the successive plenary sessions of the Central Committee. No one forced the Central Committee to take this line. It is the conscious will of those forces in the Central Committee which still, today, want to consistently implement the course of socialist renewal.

IMAGE EVALUATION
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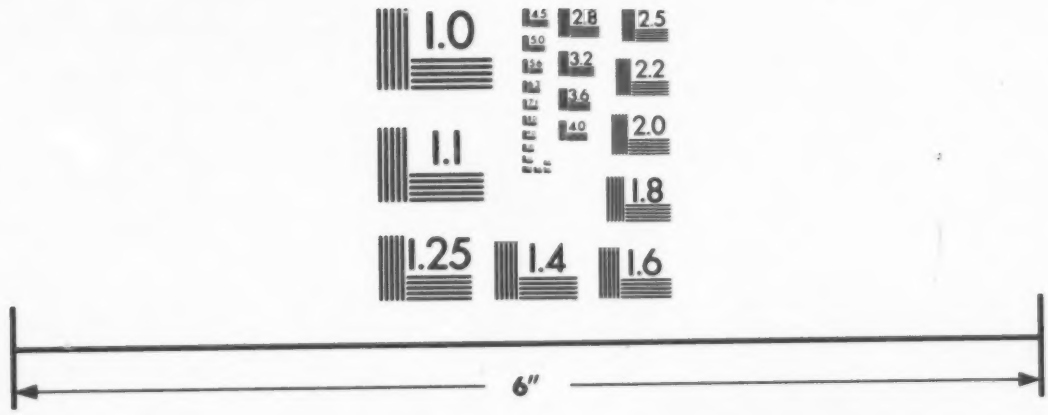

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I would like to thank you cordially, comrades, for your words of support which express confidence. This is very much needed but it also imposes duties.

It is very hard today to carry out the duties of secretary of the party and it is difficult to live up to all the expectations, because their implementation depends not only on good will. This depends on the possibilities, on the efficiency of the functioning of the whole central leadership and also on the possibilities created by objective factors.

Never before in Poland have such great expectations been aroused as today and never before were the possibilities for their implementation so small. This applies in particular to all the economic and social sectors, that is, problems which are fundamentally important for the living conditions of our nation, and which therefore very strongly influence the nation's feelings.

Our situation is dramatically difficult and there is no exaggeration in using various adjectives to describe its various dimensions, economic, political. Thus, difficulties and dangers have accumulated which are of such dimensions that it will be no exaggeration to say that we are facing the task of national salvation. Perhaps we should consider granting to all forces which are ready to act toward surmounting our difficulties and toward overcoming our crisis, some institutional or at least symbolic character.

You have touched upon many problems in the discussion [words indistinct] causes of what has happened in our country, the causes of this, the most dangerous of crises that we are experiencing. We will deal with all this deeply at the forthcoming ninth party congress. Here we must refer to the question of personal responsibility for what has happened. Not only when dealing with infringements or open violations of ethical and moral norms, the violation of law, but also that which has brought about such sharp economic difficulties.

In accordance with the decisions of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, detailed examinations have been undertaken on the foreign licenses question and investments. Many of them were caused by abortive decisions which created burdens and damaged the national economy. This matter cannot be left without an answer. We must also find fathers for these errors, so that they will not remain orphans, so that the consequences will not be borne by the people alone.

We will discuss these things. We will deal with them more firmly. The resolution of the recent Ninth Central Committee Plenum is obliging us to do so. There was much fury in our discussion, in searching for the answer to how to emerge from the crisis which has so many aspects, because it affects the performance of our entire party, not only the shipyard party organization. It affects the issue of trust, the confidence of the community in the authorities. It also deeply affects the imbalance in the national economy and our great dependence on foreign economic dependence.

Thus, we have to deal with not one, but several crises. Hence, the most important task which we must face is first of all to find a correct answer to the question: How to overcome the present difficulties? First the economy. Results have been published. These are considerably worse for the first quarter of this year, the results of industry. There is a considerable drop in the procurement of farm produce, linked not with some errors, but with a severe, even disastrous potato harvest. We know that the crop last year is one-half that of 1979.

At the same time, the growth in wages is very high in comparison with last year, which with the shortage of marketable goods even further aggravates existing problems on the market. Also, the burden of wages is very heavy, hence the proposal made from this rostrum must be considered as very valuable, the initiative of Lenin Shipyard to forego strikes for the immediate future. These not only bring negative economic results but also create a state of tension regardless of causes. If it was possible, such an initiative would be of great importance. The draft bill on trade unions provides the possibility of the Sejm considering such an initiative. There can be no more difficult situation than the present one.

There can be no stronger justification for thinking over everything that can serve the full use of our economic potential, the use of materials which are at our disposal in order to improve the situation in the market.

Comrades have touched upon with anxiety the issues of agriculture. It is very good that you can see them as they are. It would be good if such interest was shown in industrial enterprises, particularly those producing agriculture machinery or chemicals.

The results of agriculture are being decided not only in the fields. In not a lesser degree, these are being decided on the factory floor where the necessary means of agriculture production are being produced. There is no doubt that the results of agriculture are mainly decided by what happens on private farmers' farms. The constitute the foundations of our agriculture, its dominant [word indistinct]. We do take into consideration the fundamental truth of who decides here, and we have been creating conditions for the operation of not only legal, but also psychological guarantees of the permanence of this type of farming.

We will strengthen the farmers' economy and provide it with machinery and chemicals. We will see to it that agricultural output is highly profitable. Recent government decisions are clear proof of this. We care for the development of farmers' self-management, for the development of agricultural circles, cooperatives and other agricultural organizations which constituteparish self-management. All this neither denies nor constitutes an obstacle for the formation of agricultural circle cooperatives which will continue to be formed. In recent years, about (300?) have been formed.

Did you ever hear of one single case of where a cooperative was formed as a result of administrative pressure? There are no such cases and there will not be. If farmers come to the conclusion that it is better to unite their efforts, to join their fields and form a cooperative farm, then we must meet them halfway and support them.

I can see the comrades understand very well the need for changes in the party. In the discussion, satisfaction dominated over what has changed in the shipyard's party organization, while the lack of satisfaction and, later, sharp criticism, were over the wrongs we have to deal with at the higher, central level of our party. We want to make changes throughout our party, primarily through the development of democracy within the party and, understood in a Leninist way, democracy linked with the whole party's ability for action.

In party life, at all levels, we must consolidate sensitivity to everything that is wrong and draw conclusions from the criticism that is taking place in party organizations over the not energetic enough reaction to the various illegalities in the previous period and to the lack of sensitivity in recent months and during the present period. We must work for the harmonious functioning of the entire party structure, from the basic party organization which is the foundating of party strength, through all party organizations up to the Central Committee.

I have filled a notebook with your critical observations addressed to the Central Committee. (?All this) has to be accepted in general. I accept your opinions. One has to consider the proposals resulting from these decisions for the Politburo, for the Central Committee.

There are also many questions. They refer in particular to the Ninth Central Committee Plenum. The dominating opinions are that the plenum has not fulfilled expectations, although everywhere the decision on the congress, on the introduction of a general report-back and election campaign was approved with satisfaction. But it has not lived up to the expectations because of the cadre changes. Certain names were quoted, but the Central Committee made other decisions. We shall be examining--and I forecast this at the ninth plenum--the problem of the cadres of the Politburo at the next Central Committee plenum, the tenth plenum. We shall--in conformity with the will expressed by you, with the need specified by you--overcome all resistance to socialist renewal. I received with great satisfaction the information that cooperation here between party organizations and all the trade unions is shaping very well.

[Words indistinct] branch trade unions, the union of ships' operatives, but the most important one, that one that counts most, is Solidarity. This is a very satisfactory (?situation). I listened to such views with great pleasure, not only from our own comrades, from Comrade Labedzki, but also from representatives of Solidarity, among them the chairman, if I am not wrong, Comrade Szablewski. We would like this sort of situation to prevail everywhere so that there is cooperation in the removal of any pinpricks and to (?remove) tensions; cooperation in strengthening the work of the branch trade unions, which are also a force that counts in the country, thus to create suitable conditions for constructive work and cooperation with Solidarity; cooperation with state administration and in self-government to deal with various demands. This depends to a large extent on the authorities and we shall continue this line, but to a large extent this also depends on Solidarity. It is not everywhere that we come across such harmony as prevails in the Lenin foundry, and Poland, Solidarity and our party need such a situation everywhere.

Comrades here mentioned various threats to socialist renewal, those linked with routine and with ossifiction. No doubt there is a lot of this. But we must also see other obstacles and other threats. You stressed it yourselves. Socialism had, and still has, enemies. Considering all the facts, speeches and statements and attempts to create a situation of dual power in various aspects, it would be no exaggeration to speak of various signs of a counterrevolutionary threat.

Poland is not a small country--that is true--but for democracy and anarchy it is certainly [words indistinct] and we draw conclusions from this. Our situation, as you have underscored here, has aroused interest throughout the world. Among friends there are not a few fears and among our opponents there are not a few hopes.

At the end of last year, we received nonrefundable assistance from all the socialist countries together, help organized by the Soviet Union, valued at $465 million--this in hard currency, in dollars. This, too, counts a lot. (?We are importing) a lot of market goods, mainly from the GDR.

We are attempting to hold talks on the use of our economic potential--we are not able to cope with all this because there are shortages of raw materials, co-produced elements [elementy kooperacyjne]--with the aid of strength of other countries of CEMA, on the principles of mutual benefit. But the tension and the prolonged crisis create various anxieties because the strength of our community depends on the strength of each country.

Poland today, because of its economic situation and because of the political repercussions, is a weakened link of the socialist community. It is in our national interest to occupy a very strong position in this community. Confidence in our party still continues to be great, as well as the belief in the strength of our party. This was also stressed by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev in his speech 2 days ago at the CPCZ Congress. This is the most important thing: This must be valued very much.

The party congress is coming up. It will bring about a program and the authorities will be equipped with high moral authority, as you have emphasized here. I am convinced that the congress will confirm the line of the socialist renewal.

Here in Gdansk, in the course of preparations to the congress, a thought was put forward to suggest at the congress that work should be started on working out the ideological and program declaration--a kind of a long-term program for our party. I think that this is a good thought which requires consideration and which should be presented to the congress.

There are various arguments going on in the party, the criticism is sharp and the demands are severe. There is one thing clear (?in this fight), one thing which does not create any arguments in the majority of the party, nearly the whole party. This is the following: We must resolve our difficulties and overcome this dangerous crisis, these dangers which are produced by the crisis, with our own strength, and exclusively and only with our own strength.

We must use political means of action just as it has been tested since the days in which we stopped a difficult strike conflict [the Gdansk agreements]. We must not run out of strength. The way today's meeting went--and information received from your organization and other party organizations prove that the strength of the party is growing--show that the possibilities are increasing for the party to grow out [wyrosnac] together with all its echelons and become a force capable of gaining a high degree of confidence by the community, capable of leading the nation and capable of isolating all those who do not wish socialism well. [end of speech]

NEWSPAPERS VIEW BREZHNEV SPEECH IN PRAGUE

LD091522 Warsaw PAP in English 1408 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 April (PAP)--"We are sure that the best methods and conceptions of negotiations involve the patient building of confidence, gradual reduction of disputable issues, searching for compromise solutions and, until such are found, application of measures to prevent deterioration of the starting position, and abstention from initiating tensions and exacerbating confrontation, "writes TRYBUNA LUDU referring to Leonid Brezhnev's Prague speech.

The daily goes on: "Therefore, we believe that the Soviet proposals take into account the security interests of the entire Europe and are of important negotiating value also for the West. Poland, lying in the heart of Europe and especially sensitive to the possibilities of reaching agreement, is particularly interested in a speedy elaboration of the modus vivendi and anti-nuclear prophylaxis.

"It goes without saying that future relations in Europe are closely interrelated with the developments in Poland. Lasting stabilization of the situation in Poland will permit continuation of the system of detente and cooperation whereas disruption of that situation would do inestimable harm to European reactions. Also in this context, Leonid Brezhnev's remarks, concerning Polish matters, made in Prague should be viewed."

"The Soviet leader expressed the conviction that our party and the Polish society were capable of solving difficult problems, properly assess their national interests and the requirements of state security synchronized with the defence and durability of the socialist system."

On the same subject SLOWO POWSZECHNE says:

"As a result of Leonid Brezhnev's speech, the psychosis surrounding the Polish problem has lessened. There is no doubt that the process of renewal under way in Poland has a socialist character. The society is united in the spirit of correcting the errors committed in the past decade. This unification is based on the consciousness that the socialist system, membership of the Warsaw Treaty and permanent links with the fraternal countries are the best guarantee making it possible to work out a socialist democracy free from errors and distortions."

WARSAW PACT APPRAISED IN AFTERMATH OF EXERCISES

LD091500 Warsaw PAP in English 1419 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Apr (PAP)--Referring to the recently completed Soyuz-81 allied military exercises, the Polish Army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI writes inter alia:

"The Warsaw Treaty brings in fresh contents to the conception of a defence alliance. For the first time in Europe's history a genuine political-military force has come into being which does not strive to change the existing alignments, seeks no expansionist ends nor strives for the revision of frontiers. The open character of our military treaty proves that its sole objective is defence, as shown by its clear-cut foreign policy and numerous peace initiatives launched.

"This is why Poland's voice on these important matters is so often heard in the world forum and why she spares no effort and cares to strengthen the coalition system of defence and security, recognizing the Warsaw Treaty and its United Armed Forces as the best guarantee of the peaceful development of countries of the socialist community. The consolidation of our ranks is the best and most effective rebuff to the cold-war plans designed to upset the real alignment of forces in Europe."

GRABSKI ANSWERS CRITICISMS AT POWER STATION

LD100128 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] A discussion went on for some hours at a meeting at the Belchatow power station between Tadeusz Grabski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, and party and union activists of the workforces at the construction site of the Belchatow mining and power generating complex.

During the discussion it was pointed out, among other things, that in-depth analysis of the present crisis experienced by our country and the party should first of all be used to create guarantees which will prevent a repetition of errors and irregularities which deform the values of the socialist system.

It was pointed out that all the compromised people should quickly depart from the party and the government and should take the proper punishment which would be more than just exclusion from the party. Criticism was voiced about the activity of the mass media. It was suggested that manipulation of the mass media should cease and the necessity was pointed out for achieving broad socialist agreement and the need to work out one document which would contain the decisions made on all the previous agreements and that such a document should be passed as a Sejm resolution.

During the debate a suggestion was made to hold the ninth congress in stages [etapami], so that during the breaks in deliberation a broad debate could be held in party organizations on the draft resolutions of the congress. Many voices and questions were concerned with the way the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee went, the content of the resolutions and also the letter of Stefan Bratkowski.

Who do we regard as counterrevolutionary forces, asked, for instance, (Julian Japielaszek). According to me, those who strike at the socialist system. These are the people who have caused the present crisis. They have acted against socialism and they are such a counterrevolutionary force. According to what the DZIENNIK LUDOWY has written, there are in Poland a dozen or so people who have been sacked from their posts, said (Jozef Lonek). They draw their wages each month and do nothing. They even get the use of official cars [samochod sluzbowy]. Why are these people not used to work for the economy? (Ryszrad Bialas) asked who of the party leadership would go to the SED congress and if such persons get their speeches confirmed first by the Politburo.

To this question, Tadeusz Grabski answered: Such speeches will be approved by the Politburo and Kazimierz Barcikowski will go to the congress.

Tadeusz Grabski also said that the plenum resolutions which were so heavily criticized do meet the expectations of party members on some points. It was at this plenum, after all, that decisions were reached in such matters as the date [termin] of the congress, the report-back and the electoral campaign, electoral rules--i.e. matters eagerly awaited by the party.

SOLIDARITY KKP BEGINS GDANSK DELIBERATIONS 9 APR

LD091534 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] The [words indistinct] deliberations of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of the NSZZ Solidarity have begun at the Gdansk headquarters of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ].

The main aim of the deliberations is to pass the resolutions essential to the quickest possible holding of elections at all levels of the union. The composition of the working groups to the talks with the government will be definitively decided. The Gdansk deliberations, in which the chairman of the KKP, Lech Walesa, and the chairman of the Bydgoszcz MKZ, Jan Rulewski, are participating are being chaired by Chairman of the Mazowsze MKZ Zbigniew Bujak.

Proceedings Reported

LD091930 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] The National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity opened its 2-day session today at the office of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ]. The main aim of the session is to strengthen the internal status of the union, which will be achieved after elections in the near future of Solidarity officials at all levels. In order to correctly supervise the elections to the regional boards, a KKP electoral team has been established, headed by Antoni Kopaczewski. Also adopted were resolutions concerning elections of delegates to the congress, establishing that there is one delegate per 10,000 Solidarity members, as well as a document regulating the range of action and competence of the electoral team.

In the second half of the meeting Zbigniew Bujak presented a report on the initial decisions made with Stanislaw Ciosek, minister for trade union affairs, concerning future negotiations of the KKP of NSZZ Solidarity with the government on the subject of the full implementation of the agreement signed on 30 March in Warsaw.

Also established is the composition of the six working teams, which at the end of the first day of the session began work with experts. Journalists were not admitted to this part of the session. Tomorrow the session will continue. During tomorrow's session the KKP's stance on various issues to be negotiated with the government will be established, a national information office will be established, a new press spokesman will be elected and a draft (?resolution) on Solidarity (?1st of May feast) celebrations will be adopted.

Onyszkiewicz Outlines Tasks

LD091710 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Excerpts] [Passage indistinct] the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity. I have asked Janusz Onyszkiewicz to the microphone; he is fulfilling the duties of the KKP's press spokesman.

[Begin recording] [Onyszkiewicz] The main thing is to set up an electoral group of the KKP to carry out the election to regional boards. This is at present the most important organizational task for the union. There are problems with regionalization: with settling the territorial scope of individual regions. Disputes may break out over this and a negotiating commission is necessary to settle them. At this moment, as we are speaking, elections to this commission are being held, which will be composed of a [word indistinct] presidium of several people and of representatives of the separate regions.

[Question] Further on in the agenda I see the point: Preparation for negotiations with the government.

[Onyszkiewicz] The government has put forward eight thematic proposals (?which) extend those which we put forward. The government wanted to extend our proposals by adding the issue of coparticipation by Solidarity in the government's work on getting out of the crisis; in increasing the quality of work, labor productivity and some other such points.

[Question] The working groups are to deliberate until late into this evening and tomorrow as well. As well as that, the KKP will be meeting again tomorrow. For what purpose?

[Answer] Tomorrow, the most important task of the KKP is to determine its stance on the talks with the government, a stance which will be based on analyses made in the working groups. It will also deal with the issue of the 1st of May. We will have to consider ways of celebrating that holiday. The question of setting up a national information bureau and its status will also be broached. [end recording]

SOLIDARITY NEGOTIATORS COMMENT ON 1 APR TALKS

LD091347 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 3-5 Apr 81 p 2

[Grzegorz Fortuna report from "Self-Government" (Samorzadnosc) column: "How Much It Has Proved Possible To Achieve"]

[Excerpts] During a meeting of the NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP] on 1 April 1981, we put four question to three people who participated in recent negotiations with the government. We publish below the views expressed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, KKP expert and chief editor of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC, Andrzej Celinski, KKP secretary until 1 April 1981, and Bronislaw Geremek, KKP expert.

Question: How do you assess the KKP delegation's agreement (statement) in Warsaw?

T. Mazowiecki: First of all, I believe that the notions of agreement and statement are still being confused here. This is a statement on some ascertainments. In my opinion, obviously not everything has been achieved and some results have certainly been unsatisfactory, but it should be realized what has first of all been prevented. I believe that a confrontation has been prevented and that this has fundamentally affected the significance of what has been achieved. Looking at it from this viewpoint, I believe that such a solution was indispensable.

A. Celinski: I believe that in the existing situation the best possible results have been achieved. I believe that in view of the threat hanging over the state and the trade union it was impossible not to sign the statement considering the results of the negotiations, that is, in view of the fact that not only the Bydgoszcz events but also some other points were mentioned as due for negotiation (more about this later), that another step was taken with respect to farmers and that a symbolic gesture was made with reference to political prisoners and experts. In fact, that abolitionist point concerned these two matters. [sentence as published] I believe that it was impossible to achieve more and I also feel sure that a general strike would have ended in tragedy.

B. Geremek: I believe that the results achieved are very meager in relation both to social expectations and to the trade union's commitment. I think, however, that it was the best possible solution. What I mean is that it was the maximum which could be achieved in the situation in which the negotiations took place. In fact, we achieved little with respect to the five demands which we made and all the members of the negotiating team felt disappointed and disgusted. At the same time, however, decisions were secured with respect to the main point--the Bydgoszcz affair--which should become a precedent. This was an appropriate response to the fact that the trade union was attacked. Some initial steps were taken with respect to, in my view, the two most important remaining matters, namely the problem of political prisoners and the problem of the registration of a farmers' trade union. It will depend on the trade union's strength and consistency whether what is now merely an initial premise will become a fact or whether all that will remain is a piece of paper.

Question: In your opinion, has Solidarity emerged from the recent crisis strengthened or weakened?

T. Mazowiecki: In my opinion, definitely strengthened.

A. Celinski: It is not yet known whether Solidarity has emerged from it strengthened or weakened. Judging from the KKP's deliberations, I would say that it was unable to turn the Monday meeting to its advantage and I am afraid that it will emerge weakened. However, I hope that much can yet be gained and will be gained from it all.

B. Geremek: All this will be made clear by the end of the KKP meeting for the meeting has not yet ended. I believe that if the KKP concludes its deliberations in harmony and with the feeling that the trade union is united, Solidarity will emerge from this crisis strengthened. However, if it loses its feeling of unity and of community of interests, this will be a heavy blow to the trade union and the implementation of what the trade union has already achieved.

Question: What has the future in store for the agreement achieved? (A reference to the loyalty of the other contracting party and experience gained from the implementation of the August agreements).

T. Mazowiecki: At the moment, what is at stake is the problem of enforcing decisions concerning the Bydgoszcz events and resolving the ensuing crisis. The other points, in fact, have only provided an opening and it is now necessary to take advantage of this opening, hold new discussions and, in accordance with the KKP's demands, extend these discussions to include some other problems which have so far not been discussed and hold them in different, quieter conditions. I believe that one thing is important in this connection--until now it has appeared that the path of negotiation led nowhere and that only on the brink of a national catastrophe did it prove possible to come to any agreement because the government yielded. I would like to believe that the government will draw the necessary conclusions from that terrible confrontation which threatened us and which was avoided at the very last moment and that it will accept negotiations as a correct way to resolve problems--negotiations and not a strike threat. The government must at last realize that since further negotiations are continuing and since there is no strike pressure, it must approach any problem with a similar sense of responsibility.

A. Celinski: I believe that those who instigated the Bydgoszcz events will maybe continue to instigate similar events, that they will try to stage a confrontation. At the same time, however, I believe that the Bydgoszcz events jolted the authorities, especially those of its representatives who can see no other way to govern the country except through negotiations and through the establishment of some kind of modus vivendi with Solidarity. I believe that the Bydgoszcz events caused such a jolt. I think that the people who did not aim for confrontation failed to fully realize the strength of groups opposed to the concept of a peaceful solution to social conflicts in Poland. The Bydgoszcz shock concerns not only Solidarity. In fact, it affected the authorities in Poland themselves.

B. Geremek: In fact the implementation of the August agreements remains the main problem, and the problems which we recently discussed with the government were a result of the fact that the August agreement has not been implemented. In general, the implementation of the agreements depends on the strength of society's pressure. What we have been able to implement of the August agreements has indeed been gained whenever we have been supported by the strength of social pressure. In my opinion, there is a chance that the modest results which we achieved on Monday will be extended, provided the trade union is united and is able to create means of pressure, not necessarily strike pressures in fact, and provided it is able to think in long-range terms. For I am one of those people who are convinced that time is on our trade union's side.

WALESA OPPOSES 'CONFRONTATION,' CALLS FOR NEW WAYS

AU091420 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 7 Apr 81 pp 1, 6

[Tadeusz Knade 6 March interview in Gdansk with Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Consultative Commission of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity: "The Most Important Thing Is To Implement the Agreements Reached"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] ON MONDAY, 6 MARCH, IN THE AFTERNOON, AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE GDANSK INTER-FACTORY FOUNDING COMMITTEE [MKZ] A SLOWO POWSZECHNE CORRESPONDENT INTERVIEWED LECH WALESA, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION [KKP] NSZZ SOLIDARITY.

Question: After the most recent meeting of representatives of regional MKZ's, one thing is known: the KKP is no longer the monolith it used to be in the period of strikes in the Gdansk shipyard. Not even the chairman of the KKP was spared in the democratic discussion!

Answer: Certain critical remarks about the method and form of conducting talks with the government by Solidarity delegates, including remarks about myself personally, prove to be unjustified in reality. The point is that there is misinformation resulting from the lack of time to explain in detail the proceeding of the Warsaw talks. Time presses on all of us, many problems remain to be settled, and people lack information. I was simply too exhausted to tell, to explain additionally in Gdansk that we acted in a completely democratic manner as representatives of the KKP delegated to conduct the talks. Now we will devote more attention to the proper circulation of information. All of us need mutual confidence.

Question: Let us go back once again to the 2-day meeting of the KKP. The meeting, at times very stormy, clearly showed the existence of a trend toward acute confrontation among figures of regional MKZ's: Cerain utterances in the KKP indicate that you do not consider it as reasonable to evaluate the Solidarity activity from that point of view.

Answer: There was a time when as much as possible had to be won through confrontation or semiconfrontation. On that plane, we have attained a fundamental agreement. It is a bad thing that we seek further agreements that will eventually repeat all that we have attained before. For that reason I consider that we should give up endeavors to sign further agreements, go back to the documents signed and give thought on how to translate what has been settled into practice.

It seems to me that now we should follow the path of implementing the agreements through a formal and legal public representation. What I have in mind are meetings with Sejm deputies and council members whom we will invite to enterprises, and whom we will ask if they really feel like our representatives. If they do, we will suggest that, as our representatives, they exert efforts in their forum to implement the agreements signed. At the same time, we will obligate them, after every meeting or session, to come back to us and tell us how they advocated, in the public forum, our issues previously accepted by the government.

I THINK THAT, AT THE MOMENT, THAT IS THE ONLY REASONABLE WAY LEADING TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED. CERTAINLY, A CONFRONTATION MAY OCCUR, BUT WE SHOULD NOT EMBARK ON THAT PATH EXCEPT WHEN WE ARE FORCED TO DO SO. THE PATH SUGGESTED BY THE MAJORITY OF THE TRADE UNION AND MYSELF COULD BE REGARDED AS THE PATH OF RESPECTING THE LAW. WE WANT TO OBSERVE THE LAW, AND WANT THE LAW TO BE EFFECTIVE. IF IT IS BAD, IT MUST BE CORRECTED; BUT WE SHOULD PROCEED LEGALLY AND TRY TO SETTLE OUR ISSUES IN THAT WAY.

Question: Your reasoning is hardly deniable. However, in Solidarity there is a group of figures who have proven themselves primarily in confrontation and who regard confrontation as the main weapon for Solidarity ideas.

Answer: Those figures who have proven themselves to be good in the struggle, in confrontation, and who have constantly driven to confrontation, must today switch over. Obviously, those who are able will do that. If they are unable to do that, during the elections they must give up their activity and make room for people who will try to settle all those issues otherwise.

Many Solidarity figures have not proven themselves and will not prove themselves, because they are only good at fighting and in confrontation which is now--point one--inadequate; and--point two--would finish us off psychologically and physically. We can see the growing lines, we can see that we are going against our own interests. For this reason other ways must be found to settle those issues. I suppose there are forms and possibilities to settle affairs of importance for the trade union.

Question: In many cases, you intervened personally to discharge serious tension in various parts of the country. Some people may ask why you were so zealous?

Answer: Many persons and myself have repeatedly been facing a confrontation. Essential in all that was the point that, following each confrontation, new social circles were joining us. Moreover, time was needed to reach the present stage.

At present it is not worthwhile to run the risks of brinkmanship, since it is possible, figuratively speaking, to advance step by step. Now we are listening to the voices of party groups, voivodship committees, even militia units and council members who have joined us in writing statements.

TIME IS NEEDED FOR THAT "SOCIAL SOLIDARITY" FRUIT TO RIPEN. I SHALL ADVOCATE THAT PATH IN ORDER NOT TO WASTE ANY OF WHAT HAS BEEN AGREED UPON, NOT TO FOIL ANY OF OUR ACHIEVEMENTS, AND TO ATTAIN AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. MORE AND MORE SOCIAL GROUPS ARE SOBERING UP, JOINING US AND BACKING OUR CAUSE, BECAUSE THIS IS A CAUSE OF US ALL. WE SHOULD GIVE UP THE PATH OF CONFRONTATION, ALTHOUGH IT MAY PROVE TO BE UNAVOIDABLE WHEN THERE IS NO OTHER CHOICE. WE DO POSSESS THE ULTIMATE WEAPON, BUT WE WILL TRY TO REACH AN AGREEMENT BY OTHER MEANS, NOT BY BLACKMAIL AND SOCIAL WEARINESS.

Question: What is the point on which Solidarity will concentrate its attention in the near future?

Answer: The KKP and the Gdansk MKZ have now concentrated their attention on preparing as soon as possible for elections to regional MKZ's. Time is passing, and Solidarity members have sufficiently familiarized themselves with the figures representing them. Particularly recently, they have had many chances to see the forms and methods of their activity, to see who is who.

THUS IT IS URGENT TO HOLD ELECTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO ATTRACT TO REGIONAL SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATIONS PERSONS CORRESPONDING TO THE PROFILE OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS AT ENTERPRISES. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THOSE PEOPLE BE NEW AND FRESH TO ASSUME THE STATUTORY ACTIVITIES.

It is also essential for Solidarity to settle branch problems which are at the moment causing some confusion in our activity. A group of Solidarity figures is now precisely working on that problem. The point is to specialize individual MKZ's in branch problems. For example, the Gdansk MKZ will apparently engage in problems concerning shipyards and ports.

Each MKZ, authorized by the national coordinator, will work on several specific subjects. At the moment, branch commissions are acting side by side with MKZ's. Solidarity's branch figures are fighting for their offices, secretariats, printing facilities and so forth. All that needs to be settled.

Question: What issue do you intend to settle within the next few days?

Answer: To prepare for the elections, to settle the issues of the Gdansk MKZ, to clarify the problem of printing facilities--those precisely are the most important tasks for the next few days.

WE HAVE BEGUN TO PROFESS THE PRINCIPLE: SOLIDARITY SHOULD SHUN POLITICS AND EMPTY TALKS, AND SHOULD WITH MORE ZEAL SET ABOUT ACCOMPLISHING TASKS ATTRACTING THE ATTENTION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE. I WOULD LIKE TO SETTLE ALL THOSE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THAT IS ONE OF THE REASONS I HAVE, FOR THE TIME BEING, SUSPENDED ALL MY TRIPS.

Question: You are acting chairman of the Solidarity enterprise committee at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. The recent elections at the Lenin Shipyard have shown that you enjoy great confidence and support among the colleagues at your enterprise.

Answer: Indeed, those people can see the point. They fully accept the Solidarity activity line in the making.

Question: Let me ask you the last question. The reporters covering the sessions of the KKP are right to complain they are being kept out of the session hall. There are no press conferences after the sessions...

Answer: Reporters must be aware of one thing: After each session of the KKP we are too exhausted to participate in any press conference.

Next, it is a fact that reporters are being kept out of some sessions of the KKP. But reporters happen to be too keen to pick up the issues discussed in the hall, and too quick in drawing conclusions from them.

THE CONCLUSIONS REACHED BY THE KKP IN A FURTHER PART OF ITS SESSION HAPPENED TO DIFFER FROM THE RADIO VERSION ALREADY BROADCAST. MAYBE, THE REPORTER THOUGHT THAT SOME ISSUES HAD BEEN SETTLED, BUT THE KKP LATER ON INTRODUCED FUNDAMENTAL ALTERATIONS, AND WAS RIGHT TO DO THAT. PRECISELY FOR THAT REASON, NOT TO MISLEAD PUBLIC OPINION, AND I WOULD SAY EVEN MORE SO THAT WE ARE NOT DEEMED TO BE INEFFICIENT, AT SOME MOMENTS OF THE SESSION--AS IT HAPPENS--WE CLOSE THE DOOR OF THE HALL TO THE PRESS.

Certainly, our affairs are being increasingly settled. We are close to the stage when we will be able to talk to journalists about the prepared routine sessions of the KKP in advance, to highlight at press conferences important and pressing issues in a logical manner. However, we are now learning many things. For that reason please try to understand us and be patient. We will slowly also put in order our contacts with the press. We will be able to cooperate with home press reporters faster, more efficiently and better.

ONYSZKIEWICZ ON OPPOSITION TO WALESA TACTICS

LD091631 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 7 Apr 81 p 4

[Paul Scheffer interview with Polish Solidarity union spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz: "Warsaw Threatened A State of Siege"; date not specified]

[Text] Warsaw--"According to a message from the negotiating delegation during a sitting of the Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP] the government did not so much threaten to announce a state of emergency as a state of siege. A state of war--that would have been the immediate reply the moment that Solidarity decided to proclaim a general strike of unlimited duration. It was said openly that such a strike would end in bloodshed."

Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Solidarity's new spokesman, stressed that the negotiations between the government and Solidarity last Monday [30 March] were held under great pressure. The hybrid compromise reached is primarily the result of the open threats from the government during the last phase of the negotiations. And thus there is no question of a real agreement but more of a position forced by one side. For this reason Solidarity is asking that the negotiations be reopened this week on all important questions.

For the last week Onyszkiewicz has been acting as the new national spokesman for the Solidarity movement. He has accepted the title for the time being, but has postponed any final decision on it. Primarily because he does not want to give the impression that he does not agree with his predecessor, Karol Modzelewski, in any fundamental way. Modzelewski resigned last Wednesday [1 April] after he had sharply criticized the Solidarity negotiating delegation.

[Question] Is anything known about the position of the Polish Army in respect to the threat of a state of siege?

[Answer] Nothing was said about that during the negotiations, but in all probability the Polish Army would play an extremely small role.

[Question] Thus the threat chiefly consisted and consists in the extension of the Warsaw Pact Army maneuvers?

[Answer] Yes, but there were other hints of possible military activities. There were all sorts of rumors that Warsaw Airport would be closed to all traffic. All reservists were recalled to barracks and army officers had to remain at home in a state of readiness. And also we had information from extremely reliable sources that the Polish Transportation Company PKS--that is in charge of all buses, for example--was told to prepare all its vehicles. All gas tanks were to be filled. No one was told way, but it was clear that the PKS was to be involved in transporting troops. The government was playing a dangerous game.

[Question] Did the Gdansk strike committee know about these threats?

[Answer] They obviously did not know all that was happening. But in order to understand something of the course of the negotiations and the conflicts that later appeared within Solidarity we must return to the moment when the strike leadership was chosen. That was during the KKP meeting 24 March. The 11 members of the National Strike Committee were elected by secret ballot. The Strike Committee was to lead the negotiations. The problem was that the various responsibilities of the Strike Committee had not been properly established. In the period before the strike and during the strike itself they had absolute authority. Only the right to call off the strike was reserved for the KKP.

The the Strike Committee split into two groups. Four members traveled to Warsaw for the negotiations--Walesa, Gwiazda, Slowik and Jurcyk. The others remained in Gdansk to make preparations for the strike. And the great problem was that there were particularly poor contacts between the four negotiators and the rest of the strike leaders. They could not speak to each other over the telephone because they were afraid that the phones were being tapped. Walesa told us that he had repeated over the telephone the whole time that they would not give an inch. He also said so over the weekend before the signing of the agreement at various companies such as Ursus huea darzawa [as published].

This was why the agreement hit some of the Solidarity activists so hard. The rank and file were reasonably satisfied because they were not aware of Walesa's promises. The activists were angry and felt cheated.

[Question] But it has also been said that Walesa avoided contact with other members of the strike committee, because he was afraid that they would not accept the agreement.

[Answer] During the KKP meeting last Wednesday accusations were primarily made against the experts. At the Solec Hotel, where the delegation was staying, there were a number of experts in circulation. Of them it was said that they had obstructed any contact between the negotiating delegation and the strike committee in Gdansk; that they had set up a sort of shield around the delegation. The problem was that the delegation in the Solec Hotel was somewhat isolated. The only people with whom they were able to discuss things were the experts, who were fairly afraid of the government's threats. Thus the experts' opinion took the place of the union's position. And it all comes down to the fact that the experts intimidated the negotiating delegation and in this way manipulated the negotiations.

[Question] According to the strike instructions, the general strike would begin automatically if there was not a satisfactory result by 3 o'clock Monday afternoon. The deadline was moved to 8 o'clock the same evening. Then Walesa appeared on television and postponed the decision on a strike for a day on his own authority. This put the KKP on the spot.

[Answer] On Monday afternoon there had been suggestions that the whole KKP should come to Warsaw. But Walesa said that they were afraid that this would weaken their negotiating position, since the KKP's only role was that of calling off the strike. The arrival of the KKP at an early stage could have given the government the impression that the agreement would be accepted. That was the dilemma. The deadline was moved because the government and Solidarity wanted to put the compromise over Bydgoszcz to the people there. They were afraid that, if this point were rejected, the whole agreement would immediately fall apart.

But it was clear that when the strike decision was postponed by a day a general strike was definitely out of the question. It was a sort of psychological demobilization. Everyone was suddenly relaxed. The balloon had burst.

[Question] But why were the KKP members not consulted in advance about the result?

[Answer] That was a mistake the delegation made. We had the feeling that they did not want to consult the KKP because they were afraid that the agreement would be thrown out.

[Question] During the KKP's session Tuesday undemocratic behavior was nevertheless the most significant criticism directed against Walesa.

[Answer] No, that was mostly Wednesday. Then all the conflicts really came to the surface. The first day's discussions chiefly concerned the assessment of the agreement. Everyone knew that it was not very satisfactory. Only on two points is there any sign of a step forward--Bydgoszcz and the rural union. The most important thing in the agreement is the guarantee that membership of the rural union is not illegal, and during the negotiations they hinted that the rural union will be recognized in its present form, perhaps with some compromise or other so as not to suffer any loss of face, for instance, the establishment of a sort of "chamber of trade" for farmers which would keep developments under surveillance, or an umbrella organization for the independent rural union and the farmers' association set up by the government.

[Question] How long will it be before the rural union is recognized?

[Answer] Probably during this session of the Sejm; within a month. Yesterday we held talks about this with Sejm deputies who are also party members. They were prepared to give recognition.

These were the two most important points in the agreement. On all the other points we achieved nothing or almost nothing.

[Question] During a closed session a day later criticism of the negotiating delegation broke out. What happened precisely?

[Answer] Tuesday night [31 March] everyone felt that something was cooking. If we had split this would have had catastrophic consequences, although I at no time felt that there would be a split. The meeting Wednesday was opened by Karol Modzelewski, the Solidarity spokesman. He delivered a long, extremely good speech in which he compared the union with the monarchy--King Walesa with his experts as the court and the KKP in the role of a powerless parliament. Then he offered his resignation and refused to have a vote on this. Had he held on I do not think things would have needed to go as they did. This was a tactical error by Modzelewski. But he wanted to achieve a shock effect and in this much he succeeded.

His speech had an important influence on the day's talks. The discussion continued and at a given point Walesa defended himself against the criticism by saying that he knew what was happening among the population and that for that reason he had made swift decisions to postpone the strike. This was followed by applause. Then Andrzej Gwiazda, Solidarity vice chairman, leaped to his feet and cried, "If you only knew that applauding such statements kills the democracy in this union. I resign." And then he left the meeting. But he was brought back and his resignation was unanimously rejected. It was more an emotional outburst. But he was probably right--Walesa's words reminded me of De Gaulle's popularism. The leader who turns directly to the people over the heads of the people's representatives.

[Question] The newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY reported that during the meeting a proposal was made that a three-or five-man leadership be formed and that Walesa thereupon tendered his resignation.

[Answer] I must make you realize what the atmosphere of such a meeting is like. There are scores of proposals, some of which raise no reaction. The proposals for a leadership comprising several men was not discussed, and Walesa really did not threaten to resign. He may have mentioned it, but certainly not for the first time and probably not for the last. But his position as leader is really not threatened. Everyone knows that he is essential for the movement's homogeneity, although there is not complete agreement with his style.

[Question] And so the conflicts are exaggerated?

[Answer] The Wednesday meeting was a sort of catharsis. The results were positive. After what has been said the same mistakes will not be so easy to repeat.

[Question] One of the resolutions designed to avoid these mistakes is the fixing of nine guidelines for future negotiations. Does this just mean that in the future the full KKP will sit around the conference table?

[Answer] Bogdan Lis, who chaired the meeting, noted nine proposals. On the basis of these he set about drawing up a number of coherent guidelines for future negotiations. Nothing has yet been decided, but it is possible to say something about the thrust of these proposals. Everyone agrees that the role of the experts must be limited. Further, the union delegation at long-term negotiations must be regularly replaced in order to prevent exhaustion and intimidation. Moreover, there must be guarantees for open monitoring, perhaps by means of direct television transmissions or the publication of the minutes. Next Wednesday it will be decided whether the full KKP will go to negotiate with the government.

[Question] Deputy Premier Rakowski has declared that the limit to compromises has been reached. Solidarity is talking about reopening the negotiations, but the Council of Ministers has declared that only minor amendments to the agreement will be accepted. How great are the chances of a successful conclusion to further negotiations?

[Answer] Remarks such as Rakowski's are directed rather at our eastern neighbors. Look, the government has achieved this compromise using very weighty threats. But this strategy will not work a second time. We are gaining experience, not only in negotiations but also in how to organize strikes.

The warning strike Friday [27 March] was very good, almost perfect. But it is clearly another matter to organize a strike of unlimited duration. We were prepared for a strike of 1-2 weeks. But a general strike means that you have to govern practically the whole country yourself.

We almost went that far. But to be honest, in a number of respects we were not really trying to do that. We were principally afraid that the government would isolate the large factories and would break the strike by cutting off food supplies. We have shown that we can organize a strike, and, which is just as important, that we can call off a general strike. The control we have over our rank and file has made an enormous impression.

[Question] But is there a chance of a compromise over the political prisoners?

[Answer] If you are asking for my personal opinion...I think that the political prisoners should be sentenced, but that the sentences should be so arranged that they are set free immediately, because they have been in custody for a long time. The government would benefit from having sentences passed, but would not benefit from the creation of martyrs.

TU AIDES SCORE BUREAUCRACY 'DETACHED FROM SOCIETY'

LD101001 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 5-6 Apr 81 p V (Culture Section)

[Alberto Ninotti interview in Rome "a few days ago" with Solidarity advisers Piotr Wicha and Marek Budynski: "Polish Bureaucracy Remains Rooted to its Privileges"]

[Excerpt] I met in Rome a few days ago with Solidarity advisers Piotr Wicha and Marek Budynski, who are connected with the Warsaw construction union, on their visit to Italy at the invitation of the Italian Union of Labor.

[Question] Is there any room for optimism now?

[Answer] Optimism, our optimism, is not indiscriminate: It is dependent on the news of the moment, of the specific moment. But what is certain is that there will be no turning back. Whatever happens in Poland, ours will remain an unprecedented experience in the history of the countries of realized socialism.

[Question] Following the Warsaw compromise and the suspension of the general strike, diplomacy is becoming a second, tougher, skin affording better protection. What about the provocations in Bielsko Biala, Lodz and Bydgoszcz?

[Answer] There have been contradictory reports: There is no single unequivocal version of events. What is certain is that, if there was no provocation, there was stupidity on the part of the local authorities, who failed to assess the situation correctly. This is the more generous hypothesis. The other is that one must envisage a planned and deliberately pursued provocation, and that is undoubtedly a much more serious matter.

[Question] What about Solidarity's internal splits, the alleged conflicts in the leadership between the moderate--surely moderate--Walesa and the workers defense committee intellectuals, the Kurons and the Michniks, whom some people describe as radicals?

[Answer] There are no splits; it would be inconceivable in Solidarity. What is true, however, is that there are differences of method; but there is only one strategy, the one dictated by the needs of the moment. So let us say that the grassroots are radical, as highly typical of a grassroots movement, whereas the leaders try to moderate [mediare] their thrusts. Between the leadership and the grassroots there are the intermediary cadres, who are caught between two stools and who must act continually as mediators. It is not easy. Moreover, why are there such frequent, recurring, demands for strikes? The fact is that hitherto it has not only been the only or the ultimate weapon available to working people. It is much more: It is the only way to establish relations, to force the authorities to negotiate. Hitherto there have been no other tools. There is no trade union law, as was promised, and the Gdansk "21 points" are still only on paper. There is no other system for forcing the authorities to negotiate. This is the reason for this enormous grassroots pressure. This is what happened again this time. The workers were all for a general strike. But Walesa opted for a warning strike so as to be able to negotiate in time. He has been successful, certainly in the immediate term.

[Question] So much for Solidarity's splits. What about the communist splits, which exploded spectacularly on the banks of the Vistula on the night of Sunday 29 March? What significance might there be with regard to Poland's future and the Soviet Union's present?

[Answer] (Laughing) We have no specific information. We know as much as you do. We know that that is how things stand. But the popular opinion is that as long as the party exists the Soviets will not enter Poland. Of course even now there is a danger of the party passing away, taking its last breath, and it is a real danger. Its ultimate sin is its detachment from its own grassroots.

[Question] At last we have entered the maze, the dark entrance and the unknown depths. So let us discuss the economic situation.

[Answer] It is really terrible. Now there is a real shortage of foodstuffs, at least for the ordinary people, the ones who work for a living. Especially in the small cities, which means that there are also unfair situations. Moreover, the introduction of coupons has in indirect ways introduced the practice of rationing. This has made the situation worse.

The same applies to industry. For that matter, shortages are a universal phenomenon. There are shortages of raw materials and spare parts. There are new machines that cannot start running because there is always something missing. The main thing that is missing is organization, through the excessive weight of a bureaucratic structure that is stifling production. The 1975-80 5-year plan was in fact only 40 percent fulfilled. And Poland's growth rate is still on a downhill path: This year we are averaging minus 10 percent.

Here is an example: In the construction sector there is a shortage of 2.5 million rooms. In Gdansk you have to wait in line 18 years for a home. And construction costs have increased enormously. Officially 100 percent, but 300 percent in fact.

[Question] Does this mean taking precautions and defending in advance the Polish workers, who are accused of low productivity?

[Answer] This is part of it, but why not? But the real factor are the ones I mentioned--the lack of organization, raw materials and spare parts, but also the lack of any kind of incentives and, above all, a lack of morale. These are not petty excuses, they are real explanations.

[Question] Behind this panorama, so similar to the descriptions of an eternal, profound and disorganized Poland, there emerges the picture of a bureaucracy under fire, clinging stubbornly to its privileges of realized socialism and determined not to lose them. Is it possible to eliminate it?

[Answer] Bureaucracy is not an evil in itself. It can have good aspects and decidedly bad aspects. A modern state cannot do without a good bureaucracy. Criticisms are already being made of Solidarity because there is too much bureaucracy in the trade union and its entire administration apparatus does not work.

So let us say that bureaucracy is a good thing when it works as a service to the state and society. It is bad when it seeks to appropriate power and make itself a dominant authority. This is what has happened in Poland: The bureaucracy became detached from the state and real society and has literally set up on its own. Now the immediate problem is how to establish a system to monitor the bureaucracy.

[Question] The Soviets. For many days they have been roving the Polish countryside with their tanks and are still postponing the end of the season's military maneuvers. Is this a provocation?

[Answer] I would not say so. It is rather a means of pressure, consistent with their way of thinking and their conception of fraternal relations.

[Question] How will Poland react in the event of an invasion?

[Answer] Let us hope that it does not reach that point.

[Question] What about the charge that Poland is in a state of revolt?

[Answer] It is simply a lie.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI ON ANTISOCIALIST GROUPS ABROAD

AU091423 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 4-5 Apr 81 p 2

[Col Julian Sokol: "Behind the Scenes of Antisocialist Activities"]

[Excerpts] The appointment of Jerzy Mroczkowski as chief editor of the CZAS weekly in 1979 is considered as the beginning of the activities of a resilient, anti-Polish center in Canada. Jerzy Mroczkowski, who belongs to the emigres of 1968-69, helped organize the combat organization of "Free Poland," of which he is a member. On orders of that organization he had set up and led the "Odwet" [revenge] terror squad in Chicago, after which he was posted to Canada.

The CZAS weekly in Winnipeg is the hub of that center, which is strongly represented in Edmonton and Toronto. The center's command includes J. Mroczkowski and his wife Stefanie, H. Fracz and J. Barski as well as "regular correspondents" of the CZAS: K. Hanff, W. Gauza, T. Strzyzewski, A. Pruszynski, H. Szuster and J. Tereszczenko, who serve as a rallying point for the fresh emigrants from Poland--K. Patalas, W. Figiel, J. Barski, K. Koscik and others.

The Canadian center has, so to speak, two roles to play: on the one hand, it has been penetrated by "Free Poland" as a kind of branch in Canada and, on the other hand, it plays the role of a foreign branch of the Confederation for an Independent Poland. All the members of the center and its active workers belong to the confederation.

One of the major tasks of the Canadian center is to amass fiscal resources in support of counterrevolutionary activities in Poland. Fiscal subsidies and contributions are considerable.

The Winnipeg branch closely cooperates with Polish rightist organizations abroad: the Polish Veterans' Association, the Society for Eastern Territories, the Eternal Millennium Fund as well as with F. Pluta and T. Walkowski who are the London Polish puppet government's representatives in Canada.

Running contacts are maintained with subversive elements in Poland. Decisions and information are exchanged most often by telephone, and the individual traffic between Canada and Poland is extensively used to carry packets and illegal publications.

Sweden is a country in which there is a particularly dense network of various anti-Polish groups. They are led by a branch of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, which is small, but is staffed by militant and mostly younger people who have left Poland. The leading lights of that branch are J. Kleban, H. Malinowski, T. Strzyzewski, J. Zuchowski and M. Komierowski. In February 1980 the Swedish group of the Federation for an Independent Poland joined the Council of Polish Emigres--an organization which regards itself as a "representative body of political emigres in Sweden" and which includes militant members of the "Polish organizations for independence" active in Sweden.

As a neutral country, which is not far from Poland, the Soviet Union and the GDR, Sweden--as we have said--is a place in which many anticommunist subversive organizations are active. As a rule, those organizations use the cover of political organizations for "independence."

The branch of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, which has become a political and, to a great extent, an organizational backbone of the groups active in Sweden, is most militant in its anti-Polish activities.

An analysis of plentiful materials has confirmed that the anti-Polish centers in Sweden are playing an indisputably great role in sponsoring and supporting subversive activities in Poland, as attested to by the following quotations from L. Moczulski's letter to J. Kleban: ".... We urgently need offset presses or efficient copying machines capable of reducing the size of the original matter.... We need an entire set of chemicals for silk-screen printing.... We need duplicating stencils and hectographic carbon paper of the highest quality."

"I am sending separately the addresses for mail and money and separately for the boxes into which letters and things are to be dropped.... I am sending our publications for you to reproduce in larger quantities please."

"It would be useful if you would tell us... what you expect of us insofar as the setting up of points for collecting your mail is concerned...."

"It would also be a good thing to ask the radio people[in Sweden] what information they need from Poland, not necessarily concerning the confederation. It would also be useful to tell the radio people in writing that they can ask questions about events in the country and that they would receive the answers within 24-28 hours." We refuse to comment.

Demonstrations consistently organized in front of the Polish Consulate in Malmo are aggressive and provocative in character. Attempts are made to impart to them the necessary publicity by starting them in the center of the town, mostly when the tourist traffic is thick. The terror squads run by "Free Poland," the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Polish veterans' association and other groups also engage in "touring performances," mainly in Denmark. For example, on 31 May 1980 they organized a provocative demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen.

JUSTICE MINISTER SPEAKS ON NSZZ FARMERS ISSUE

LD092032 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Excerpts] A press conference was held at the government spokesman's office today. Here is a report by our correspondent Zdzislawa Guca:

We heard a 20-minute long statement by Prof Kazimierz Siarkiewicz. Such a long time was needed only to enumerate new bills being prepared by the government.

From many questions asked by journalists during the press conference I have chosen one only, asked by Jerzy Sanecki, from INTERPRESS.

[Begin Sanecki recording] The recent congress of agricultural circles passed a resolution on setting up an NSZZ of Private Farmers affiliated to agricultural circles and their unions. In connection with that I would like to ask the following question. Has the statute of this union been submitted for registration by the voivodship court? And a second question: What is the interpretation of the Ministry of Justice as regards this and in connection with the fact that the legal regulations do not provide for creation of a trade union of people who are not employees in the strict meaning of the word? This, of course, concerns indirectly the issue of registration of other independent, self-governing trade unions of private farmers. [end recording]

Here is the answer of Justice Minister Jerzy Bafia.

[Begin recording] The agricultural circles as a trade union are a so-called trade union which goes beyond the framework of a trade union as defined by the law of 1 July 1949. This is a trade union--to speak in inverted commas maybe or using a metaphor--not of employees, but a trade union encompassing, well, people whose character from the point of view of work relations is different. The Supreme Court was deliberating on the matter and found that it cannot register the submitted statute of the NSZZ of Private Farmers as a trade union in the interpretation of the law on trade unions, and this because such is the initial premise--the initial premise here being the law on trade unions of 1st July 1949 and until it is changed we must use it as a legal statute--but on the other hand it found that precisely this other character of the trade union, the nonemployee union, can be registered within the framework of the usual registration of associations in Poland.

These are the fundamental differences at present and the statute of agricultural circles cannot be submitted to the court for registration since it does not fit the resolution of the Council of State, but it can and should be submitted within the framework of the registration of associations to an appropriate voivodship office.

Does this answer require any further amplification or commentary? [end recording]

Only that the issue of a trade union for private farmers must be raised and solved either within the framework of the work on the law on trade unions or within the framework of the work on the law on agricultural self-government.

This last sentence was suggested to the minister by Prof Adam (Niedzierzynski).

SOLIDARITY FARMERS ANSWER JOURNALISTS' QUESTIONS

AU090644 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 6 Apr 81 p 2

[Andrzej W. Kaczorowski report: "Press Conference of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Immediately after meeting Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski (we reported the meeting yesterday), the Presidium of the all-Poland founding committee of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers held a press conference in the room of the Catholic Intelligentsia Club (KIK) on 2 April. The conference was attended by Jan Kulaj (chairman), Jan Antol, Piotr Baumgart and Gabriel Janowski (all deputy chairman) as well as by Andrzej Chalupnik, Stanislaw Chrobak, Jan Ciosek, Jan Frycze and Janusz Rozek. Questions were put by some scores of foreign and domestic media correspondents.

WHAT IS YOUR POSITION ON THE CONGRESS OF AGRICULTURAL CIRCLES?

The congress was a hocus-pocus. We do not know who was more taken aback, the government or we. It would have been much more credible if the voluntary fire brigade proclaimed itself a trade union. (Antol)

It was a manifestation of the peasants' enormous determination and intuitive efforts to set up their own trade union. To me the response of the delegates was spontaneous and not manipulated. (Janowski)

Short and sweet: The peasants' intentions were good, but, unfortunately, the issue was intercepted by the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations (CKOR) and was taken over by someone else. (Kulau)

Someone is keenly interested in dividing us. (Rozek)

HOW DO YOU APPRAISE THE MOST RECENT ACCORD BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND 'SOLIDARITY'?

Item three of the accord, concerning farmers, is undoubted progress. Our activities have been recognized as within the law, but not all our hopes have been fulfilled. (Baumgart)

WHY DID YOU ATTACK WALESA AT THE GDANSK SESSION OF THE NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION?

We were merely dissatisfied with the accord that had been reached. (Kulaj)

We clarified our positions, and this must not be regarded as an attack against Lech. (Janowski)

HOW IS THE RZESZOW ACCORD BEING IMPLEMENTED?

It must be included in the packet of the social accords supervised by Professor Szczepanski's Sejm commission. Concealing and belittling issues must stop. The accord has already been violated on a number of points. Although the agricultural development fund has been transferred to the Central Union of Agricultural Circles (CZKR), we will not spend a single penny on the circles' bureaucracy. We have not been invited to state our views on the changes in procurement prices. (Antol)

We do not want the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations (CZKOR) to present the accord as its own postulates. (Kulaj)

THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS.

We are just setting up central membership records. At this moment there are 1.2-1.3 million of us, but, following the most recent government statement, that number will certainly increase many times over.

HOW DO YOU VIEW THE DRAFT AGRICULTURAL SELF-GOVERNMENT LAW?

We have our own social draft, which is now being discussed in our circles. We want all the rural organizations to be treated on an equal footing.

WHAT IS YOUR VIEW ON AGRICULTURAL CHAMBERS? (THE QUESTION WAS PUT BY THE LE FIGARO CORRESPONDENT)

No one has proposed them to us. We do not know what they are and how they would function. (Kulaj)

MAY YOUR MEMBERS BELONG TO THE CIRCLES?

Circles are round. Let them turn around and around until they fall apart. (Kulaj)

We are members. Generally speaking, we are not against. (Janowski)

They have been lying in the weeds for 6 years and have become dried up. Machines and funds have been taken away from them. Reviving that corpse by artificial means will not do. (Antol)

DO YOU REGARD THE ZSL AS POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE RURAL AREAS?

Most ZSL members have healthy ideas, but the top has failed, unfortunately. (Kulaj)

The peasants are in great need of political representation. (Janowski)

If they turn their ears toward the rural areas and their snouts [geby] toward the party, then it will be our ZSL. (Rozek)

HAVE YOU HAD CONTACTS WITH GUCWA?

On television. He was speaking and we were listening. (Kulaj)

We had contacts before. Chairman Gucwa said that there were no differences between the circles' statutes and ours. (Janowski)

THE INTERIM STATE IS RATHER TOLERABLE, BUT HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

We have not invented any registration. We do not need identity cards. (Baumgart)

We cannot allow things to drag on and on. (Kilaj)

IS HE WHO BREEDS FOXES OR MINKS ALLOWED TO JOIN YOUR UNION? (A NOVOSTI CORRESPONDENT'S QUESTION)

The statutes say: He may. (Janowski)

WHAT HAS THAT GOT TO DO WITH AGRICULTURE?

Such a breeder uses fodder. (Kulaj)

WHAT ABOUT THE SAFETY OF YOUR UNION'S MEMBERS AND LEADERS?

What happened in Bydgoszcz was certainly not a gymnastics accident. (Kulaj)

Officials and heads have been harrassed everywhere. (Kulaj) Mandates for the Poznan congress were taker away. (Chalupnik)

GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY TALKS END IN NOWY SACZ 9 APR

LD092210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Talks between a central government working commission and the Nowy Sacz Solidarity commission ended in Nowy Sacz today. The text of a final protocol on matters debated during this round of talks was agreed by the two sides.

Nine persons were recalled from the managerial posts in this region. The resignation of a further six was accepted, and two persons were suspended.

The chairman of the government working team said that if the administration of the Nowy Sacz Voivodship had dealt earlier with problems to which attention was drawn by the population, including Solidarity, the Nowy Sacz case would not exist today. It was decided to hold the next meeting of the two commissions on 30 April.

PZPR REST HOME HANDED OVER TO HEALTH SERVICE

LD071612 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] According to the agreement concluded between the government commission and NSZZ Solidarity of Jelenia Gora Voivodship, the Granit rest home in Szklarska Poroba, owned by the PZPR Central Committee, has been handed over to the health service. The project has been leased until the new voivodship hospital is erected.

GDANSK COMMISSION CRITICIZES CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

LD091520 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Gdansk-Gdynia--The voivodship precongress commission has met in plenary session in Gdansk. It assessed the program documents for the Ninth PZPR Congress, prepared by the Central Congress Commission. The meeting strongly criticized many points of the documents, although it was stated that this version is considerably closer to the views of the members of the voivodship party organization than the previous version.

ZBOWID CENTRAL BOARD PLENARY MEETING URGES CALM

LD091516 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] The plenary meeting of the Central Board of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBOWID] took place in Warsaw. This is a veterans' organization with 663,000 members. The plenum concluded with the adoption of a resolution which urges social order and calm in the country, as well as support for the government and party program.

GOVERNMENT RAISES FARM PROCUREMENT PRICES

AU091555 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Apr 81 pp 1, 2

[Unidentified staffer's report: "Farm Procurement Prices Raised--the Resolution of the Council of Ministers"]

[Text] As the government press spokesman told us, the Council of Ministers adopted Resolution 73 on 3 April, in line with which the procurement prices for milk, slaughter cattle, hogs, slaughter sheep, slaughter cows and calves were raised as of 1 April 1981.

Procurement prices for poultry and, proportionately, for eggs and chicks will be raised beginning 1 July 1981.

The procurement prices for plant products--grain, rape, and sugar beets will also be raised beginning 1 July, that is, as of the new harvest. New guaranteed (minimum) procurement prices for edible and industrial potatoes, tobacco, hops and other products have also been fixed in the suitable proportion to the basic prices for farm produce.

At the same time--beginning 1 July--the retail prices for state fodder concentrates for hogs, cattle and poultry will be raised. Procurement and selling prices for seeds, young plants and seedlings will also be changed beginning 1 July.

The procurement and supply prices for animals for breeding and reproduction were increased (beginning 1 April) in proportion to the increases in the procurement prices for animal products.

The following so-called average procurement prices for animal products are in force since 1 April:

Hogs--Z86 for 1 kg; cattle--Z72 for 1 kg; sheep--Z72 for 1 kg; horses--Z75 for 1 kg; calves--Z72 for 1 kg; milk--Z14 for 1 liter; wool-Z530 for 1 kg.

The following prices for plant products will be in force beginning 1 July:

Rye--Z950 for 100 kg; wheat--Z950 for 100 kg; oats--Z950 for 100 kg; brewer's barley--Z1,250 for 100 kg; low yield rape--Z2,100 for 100 kg; high yield rape--Z2,500 for 100 kg; sugar beets--Z260 for 100 kg; edible potatoes--Z350 for 100 kg; industrial potatoes--Z250 for 100 kg. (The potato prices are minimum prices. As for industrial potatoes, extra payments will be made for extra starch.) Tobacco--Z130 for 1 kg; hops--Z280 for 1 kg.

Beginning 1 April the following higher prices for fodder are in force:

For hogs and cattle--Z1,100 for 100 kg; for poultry--Z1,220 for 100 kg.

Beginning 1 July new economic and organizational principles will be in force for agriculture. The most important of them:

--a uniform economic-fiscal system in all sectors of agriculture;

--abolition of credit waivers and a considerable extension of opportunities for low-interest credits and longer repayment periods;

--liquidation of the cash equivalent for uncollected fodder (beginning 15 April 1981);

--abolition of bonuses on fertilizers;

--abolition of contracted cultivation of grains, except for brewer's barley; uniform principles of contracted cultivation throughout agriculture;

--fodder control will continue, but the fodder supply for one animal will be lower (because of fiscal restrictions on imports); supplies of fodder concentates and fodder components will be increased;

--distribution of coal: supplies for social purposes will be increased, but for production purposes decreased.

'CHANGE' TOWARD COUNTRY SEEN IN WESTERN MEDIA

LD080302 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0230 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Text] A significant change has taken place in recent accounts by the Western press on events in Poland. Press agencies and newspapers which until now focused their attention mainly on what was taking place in our country, are now reflecting on Poland's domestic situation against an international backdrop.

American television accorded extensive coverage to Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the CPCZ Congress. It was emphasized that when he discussed Polish topics, he confirmed the conviction that the Poles would be able by themselves to cope with their own problems. The Washington correspondent of the American CBS television network noted that the noise about Polish affairs has subsided and quoted a Polish spokesman: Tensions about our country, being artificially fanned up in the West, will not help Poland at all. The opinion that the alarmist tone of commentaries on Polish topics will clearly abate over the next few days predominates in Washington.

Commenting on Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the CPCZ Congress, West German radio stations quoted the statement that the Soviet Union would remain Poland's faithful friend and ally.

Paris dailies both LE MATIN and LE FIGARO, draw attention to the calm prevailing in Poland. The LE FIGARO correspondent even stated that we have yet another confirmation of the fact that whenever there is calm in Poland, noise is unleashed abroad. The prospect that socialist democracy will be successful in that country is a climate of law and order is bound to cause disquiet among some people, the LE FIGARO correspondent comments.

WORLD PRESS COVERAGE OF CRISIS 'DIMINISHES'

LD100450 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 10 Apr 81

[Text] The number of foreign reports concerning Poland was clearly diminished over the past few hours. This is connected with the general conviction of the world's press that tension connected with events in our country is diminishing after the speech by Brezhnev at the 16th CPCZ Congress, and also after announcement of the end of the Soyuz-81 maneuvers. According to American experts, another internal crisis has ended in Poland. In their view, the special party congress will be of key importance and it will probably decide the fate of our state.

KANIA SENDS HUNGARIAN ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS

AU081639 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4-5 Apr 81 p 1

[Greetings message from PZPR First Secretary Stanislaw Kania; State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski; and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski to Hungarian counterparts on liberation anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Janos Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee first secretary; Comrade Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Comrade Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, in Budapest:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, the Polish people and on our own behalf, we send you, and through you to the fraternal Hungarian people, our warm greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the National Day of the Hungarian People's Republic--the 36th anniversary of liberation.

The profound sociopolitical transformation carried out by the Hungarian people under the leadership of the MSZMP have become a source of your successes and a guarantee of steady progress in socialist building in the past 36 years.

In close alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, united in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, the Hungarian People's Republic makes a valuable contribution to the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community states, to developing cooperation and strengthening international peace and security in Europe and the world.

We express our profound satisfaction that the relations of the traditional friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our parties, states and peoples--relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism--continue to gain in strength and depth. We value this highly.

Dear comrades, we wish you and the fraternal Hungarian people further achievements in implementing the 12th MSZMP Congress resolutions and in the struggle for peace and socialism.

[Signed] PZPR First Secretary Stanislaw Kania; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic; Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic

TRYBUNA LUDU DECRIES FRG 'PRUSSIAN REVIVAL'

LD071452 Warsaw PAP in English 1404 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP)--Trybuna Ludu printed an article by its West German correspondent Janusz Moszczenski, who points to the "Prussian wave" which has been sweeping the FRG lately.

The concluding points: "For us, the Polish nation, and for the neighboring nations, Prussia is not only a historical term. It is also a political concept. The Prussian style of government, which our nation has had a chance to feel on its own skin during the times of Poland's partitioning, and which served as the model for the worst things the Nazis did here, is much more important and characteristic for us in the Prussian image than the famous Prussian virtues. Neither were these "virtues" as just or beneficial for Prussian subjects as some people would have it. This is best proved by the history of the working class movement in Prussia and the hard fate of the Silesian, Pomerania and Wielkopolska Poles.

"Therefore, we are extremely suspicious and strongly disgusted with attempts to revive the Prussian model. We do not think that this trend can serve the normalization of relations in Europe on the basis of concluded bi-lateral agreements and the CSCE Final Act; on the contrary: 'Prussia' is a ready idea for churning up great-German nationalism and chauvinism. It is no coincidence that the 'Prussian model and image' is used during rallies, marches, in propaganda and publications, by various revanchist unions, landmannschafts, organizations of one-time SS-men, neo-Nazi groups and units, equally eager to create a Hitler fashion as to bring in a longing for Prussia."

GUCWA RECEIVES SRV AMBASSADOR 26 MARCH

OW281501 Hanoi VNA in English 1451 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Hanoi, 28 Mar (VNA)--"The Polish state and people are continuing to strengthen the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between Poland and Vietnam, and to promote all-sided cooperation and assistance to Vietnam in the building and defence of its socialist motherland," said Stanislaw Gucwa, marshal of the Sejm of Poland, at a meeting with Vietnamese Ambassador Truong Quang Ngo in Warsaw on March 26.

Another report from Warsaw says that, in honour of the International Year of the Disabled, Czeslaw Bislek, director of the Christian Relief Center in Poznan, on March 24, handed the Vietnamese Embassy in Poland 10,000 zloties as aid for Vietnamese people disabled by the U.S. and Chinese wars of aggression.

KOSOVO BODIES MEET; ECONOMIC AID, SUBSIDIES CITED

Pristina Communists Meet

AU091652 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Milisav Milic report]

[Text] The communal committee of the League of Communists of Pristina at its session today discussed how the conclusions of the 16th session of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo on the political security situation in the province are being implemented. Aslan Fazlija, president of the League of Communists conference, submitted the opening report. Milisav Milic reports from Pristina:

About 20,000 Pristina communists and all the working people and citizens of this commune denounced at numerous meetings the hostile demonstrations and demanded that the perpetrators be most sharply punished. At this moment of a political offensive, the most important thing is to strengthen relations among peoples and enhance the trust of the peoples and nationalities. Days of genuine political differentiation and of struggle without compromise against hostile elements and their destructive activities are ahead of us. The signposts to future actions are the conclusions of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo on the political security situation as well as the speeches of Fadilj Hodza and other prominent leaders of the federation, the republic and the province.

The communal committee of the League of Communists of Pristina at its session pointed out that economic life is gradually normalizing. More and better work is being done in many work collectives. Life runs its course in other fields, too. Elementary schools resume work on Monday.

If a conclusion is to be drawn from the session of the communal committee of the League of Communists of Pristina today, it reads: It is necessary to ensure mass unity of the peoples and nationalities in the struggle against the enemy and his counterrevolutionary actions. Here in Kosovo it is frankly said: The spirit of brotherhood is shaken, but it is not destroyed. All the honest Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims and other peoples and nationalities continue to live in concord, as they (?have been doing for decades).

More on Pristina Communists

LD092030 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Every aspect of life and work in the Pristina municipality has virtually returned to normal. This can be seen everywhere in Pristina and its surroundings. Social and communal services are functioning in an increasingly organized way and the production process, which was at times disrupted by the ban restricting movements, has been completely stable since Monday.

This is a concise summing up of the life and work in Pristina and also the appraisal made by the Pristina League of Communists municipal committee at its session today. Apart from a report on the normalization of the situation, the members of the committee analyzed in detail all the very extensive sociopolitical activity of communists and all organized social forces, which has developed following the hostile demonstrations, in all the work collectives, local communities and villages of the Pristina municipality.

The committee noted that the numerous meetings attended by large numbers of working people, citizens and youth had unanimously and very sharply condemned the hostile demonstrations and their counterrevolutionary character.

Setting the further tasks stemming from the conclusions of the 16th session of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, the members of the committee judged that the activity of all the subjective forces must be intensified still further so as to deepen the awareness of the real nature of enemy attacks and suppress lies and misinformation.

At the session of the Pristina League of Communists municipal committee it was stressed that even greater efforts had to be made in order to normalize production, completely in keeping with the demands of economic stabilization, and to resume work in secondary schools, faculties and the student center.

Djakovica Communists Meet

AU091759 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Text] The communal committee of the League of Communists of Djakovica at an expanded session today discussed the political security situation in the commune. The session was attended by Imer Pulja, (Mehmet Beha) and (Voje Popovic). (Asim Duka), president of the communal conference of the League of Communists of Djakovica, speaking about the recent demonstrations in Kosovo, pointed out that they had a hostile, nationalist and irredentist nature and aimed at creating instability both in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia.

Having stressed that in the Djakovica commune, thanks to the activities of the League of Communists, thanks to the mobilization of all the subjective forces to prevent such unpleasant events and thanks to the activities of the committees of all-people's defense and social self-protection, the opportunities for any kind of difficulties arising have been prevented. (Duka) added that work discipline in that period increased, work absenteeism was reduced and production plans were exceeded in some communities.

(Asim Duka) then pointed out that vigilance of communists, working people and citizens in all communities has been increased, especially in the student hostel of the higher pedagogical school and at the center of secondary vocational training. In all the communities of the commune, the statement by Comrade Dzavid Nimani, the speech by Comrade Fadilj Hodza to the Pristina political aktiv and the report by Mahmut Bakali to the session of the provincial committee were supported without reserve.

(Asim Duka) devoted part of his speech to the need for a struggle without compromise by the League of Communists and other organized forces, to an ideopolitical differentiation of communists and to the need to unmask individuals who by their activities strove to harm brotherhood and unity and the development of socialist self-managing relations.

Federal Funds Allocated

LD091230 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1027 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Titograd, 9 Apr (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia will allocate over the coming 5 years 1.83 percent of the gross domestic product for the development of less developed republics and the Province of Kosovo.

By 1985 the Yugoslav Development Fund is expected to reach a total of some 220 billion dinars (some $7.3 billion).

This has been announced at a session in Titograd of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy's committee for the quicker development of insufficently developed republics and the Province of Kosovo.

The bulk of the resources will be invested in electric-supply industry, raw materials, the production of industrial equipment, food and transport in the Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo which belong to the less developed regions of Yugoslavia.

Half of the necessary resources for the Yugoslav Development Fund will be supplied through compulsory loans by all federal units, and the other half through joint investments by enterprises from the developed and less developed regions. In addition, the Yugoslav republics and the Province of Vojvodina have agreed to each build one industrial facility in Kosovo in the next 5 years.

The even regional development of the country is considered in Yugoslavia an essential element of the policy of the implementation of national equality.

Milk Prices Subsidized

LD092056 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1825 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Pristina, 9 Apr (TANJUG)--The Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly today passed a decision on a subsidy for fresh pasteurized milk and the conditions in which this subsidy will be paid. As a result, the retail price of this product in the province will be lowered by 2 dinars per liter. The decision on a milk subsidy was adopted within the framework of a program of measures and actions launched at an earlier stage aimed at protecting the standard of living. Subsidies have also been introduced in the province for meat, flour, bread, oil, sugar and some other food products.

At today's session, which was chaired by Bahri Oruci, the Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly also considered a report on market supplies of basic food products in the province. It was noted that the market situation is satisfactory and that there are adequate quantities of food, other products and oil derivatives.

MINIC WRITES ON WARS BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

LD092214 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 9 Apr 81

["Minic on Wars Between Socialist Countries"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Apr (TANJUG)--Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has written a noted and wide-ranging article in the latest issue of the LCY journal SOCIJALIZAM on the causes and consequences of military conflicts between socialist countries, emphasizing at the beginning that Marxism, on the basis of studying the contradictions of socialism, pointed to the possibility of outbreaks of armed conflicts even between socialist countries.

Quoting several assumptions about the essence and character of this new phenomenon in the contemporary world, Milos Minic emphasizes, among other things, that by "armed conflicts between socialist countries" we must also mean wars and the use of force, military interventions by one country for the sake of interfering in another country's internal affairs, the use of a "special war" as one of the means to destabilize an internal system and physchological pressure. Minic also considers that conflicts between individual socialist countries should not be set apart too much from conflicts between nonaligned countries, in view of the similarities of causes and consequences of these conflicts.

Emphasizing that each of these conflicts in time also becomes an international problem, Minic also points to the dogmatic approach and view of relations among the blocs.

In this connection he writes that socialism cannot be equated with the Eastern military-political bloc, that is, the Warsaw Treaty, which is composed of several socialist countries. Even if all socialist countries were to form a single military-political bloc, the interests of socialism could not in any way be equated with the interests of that military-political bloc, for socialism long ago became a world process, Minic emphasizes, and adds that today's picture of the world is quite different from the time when the Soviet Union was the only socialist country in the world.

If we should consider something "special" in relations between socialist countries, Minic goes on, this could only be the responsibility of socialist forces in those countries to nurture the spirit of the strictest application of the principles of respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, noninterference, nonintervention and all other principles contained in the UN Charter.

Emphasizing in this connection that this "something special" relates to some special mutual bilateral or multilateral obligations most frequently in the military sphere, Minic emphasizes that in all other relations between countries which are members of blocs, as independent and sovereign states, all the above-mentioned principles should have full importance, just as they have in relations between all independent and sovereign states, for otherwise the contrary to these (?principles) is the practice of "limited sovereignty," inequality, domination and hegemony in any form.

There can be no justification for aggressions, invasions, military interventions, occupations (temporary or permanent) by one state against another independent and sovereign state, whether socialist or not, Minic emphasizes, or for reference to "special relations" or "proletarian internationalism," "vital security interests" or the right to change at will some governments and set up others in neighboring countries, just as neither "exporting revolution" nor "exporting counterrevolution" can be justified in any way.

Pointing out that the question of a "class approach" is often raised when attempts are made to justify military intervention, Minic emphasizes that the manipulation of this thesis in fact represents an attempt to justify narrow interests by ideological reasons.

Recalling in this connection that unfounded criticisms are also sometimes aimed at Yugoslavia because of the alleged absence of a "class approach" to military interventions, Milos Minic emphasizes that we do not have two policies: one as a socialist country and another as a nonaligned country.

"Our country has one foreign policy--the policy of nonalignment," he emphasizes, adding that we do not have any special principles for relations with socialist countries and other principles for relations with capitalist countries, or other principles for relations with nonaligned countries which are not socialist. Nor do we need special principles for Europe and some others for all other continents. "This policy is, in its general orientation and principles, all-embracing, and is on the course of [words indistinct] the more progressive forces of mankind, containing within itself the principles on which we base relations with all other countries in the world," Minic emphasizes.

Presenting a whole range of issues, such as the struggle against the policy of spheres of influence, all aspects of domination, the doctrine and practice of "limited sovereignty" and so forth, which relate to the very phenomenon of the class struggle in contemporary conditions, Minic at the same time replies that "class struggle in the international sphere" today encompasses all struggles against all forms of domination, hegemony and exploitation in international relations.

Discussing the origin or relations between socialist countries in the context of the international situation, Minic recalls the pressure by Stalin and the Cominform on Yugoslavia in 1948, then the events in Hungary and Poland in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, emphasizing that all of these took place in a period in which the big powers and military blocs for 25 years exerted an extremely negative influence on the development of international relations as a result of their rivalry and competition among themselves for spheres of influence. Similarly in the period of deterioration of the international situation and lack of progress of detente, from 1976 up to now, military interventions and conflicts between socialist and nonaligned countries increased. Not all of these military interventions are passing off peacefully or without bloodshed.

Apart from this, these armed conflicts have also raised the question of "just" or "defensive" or "unjust" war or war of conquest in the case of armed conflicts between socialist countries. On the other hand, these interventions have not only intensified relations between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and China, in Asia and between the two blocs on the global plane but have also provoked deeper divisions between the nonaligned countries. These latest military interventions have also immediately become internationalized and have not remained in the "family circle" of the so-called socialist community because they violated the basic principles of the UN Charter and the policy of nonalignment. In this sense, Minic recalls the results of voting by the nonaligned countries in the United Nations on these interventions, emphasizing that the nonaligned countries also played a decisive role in proposing and adopting resolutions which rejected these interventions and demanded political solutions.

Recalling that the latest military interventions and armed conflicts between socialist countries (Vietnam in Kampuchea, Soviet Union in Afghanistan, "punitive" military intervention of China in Vietnam) were preceded by others such as the Somali military action against Ethiopia, intervention against Angola, the war in the Horn of Africa and the recent armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, Milos Minic concludes that the coincidence between appearance of these conflicts and the stagnation of detente cannot be accidental and that it is not accidental.

In this context, he also emphasizes that during the period of increasing detente there have been a series of positive events on the international scene in the bilateral relations between individual countries as well as in individual countries.

Especially pointing out the grave multiple consequences of these conflicts for the development of the world socialist process, Milos Minic adds that they also compromise the very idea of socialism in world proportions and even strengthen the positions of reactionary and imperialist forces in the world. These disputes also create grave and complex international and internal political and psychological conditions for the struggle of socialist forces in their own countries, while provoking new divisions, disagreements and disputes between socialist forces in the world, as well as between individual nonaligned countries and individual socialist countries.

The practice of using foreign military forces with the motivation of "defending socialism" in individual countries or helping the "healthy forces" against legitimate governments is creating an impression about "exporting revolution" in the world. This makes it easier for the imperialist and reactionary forces to resort to "exporting counterrevolution," Minic concluded. He added, quoting Marx, that foreign [word indistinct] and "missionaries" today can only undermine the rule of their own working class.

Stating in conclusion that our attitudes and our foreign policy are contained in the program attitudes of the LCY, in our Marxist theoretical and ideological views and in the principles of our country's policy of nonalignment, Milos Minic underlines that the roots of such a consistent and principled policy [words indistinct] to preserve the independence and nonalignment of our country and the independent way of developing our society [words indistinct] socialist self-management.

TRADE WITH ALBANIA TO REACH AGREED LEVEL

LD092344 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 9 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Apr (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and Albania have foreseen the volume of bilateral trade this year to total 135 million dollars, or by 15 million more than in 1980.

As reported today by the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, Yugoslavia and Albania concluded in the first three months of this year trade agreements to the value of some 85 million dollars, which accounts for 75 percent of the planned volume of trade for this year. The Executive Committee meeting of the section for Albania, attended by representatives of Yugoslav firms which conduct business affairs with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, established that there are certain difficulties in the mutual deliveries of some commodities. It is expected that the agreed volume of trade for this year will nevertheless be realized.

MIJATOVIC, VRHOVEC DEPART FOR ZAMBIA, TANZANIA

LD082320 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2229 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Apr (TANJUG)--President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Cvijetin Mijatovic left here this evening on official visits to the Republic of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania. On the visits--which [word indistinct] sources here say, are being attached high importance--Mijatovic will be accompanied by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Josip Vrhovec, member of the Federal Executive Council Vajo Skendzic and Assistant Federal Secretary for National Defence Col.-Gen. Janko Sufnjar. The two countries, which have been devoted to the goals and policy of non-alignment ever since gaining independence, have a great international role and their presidents, Dr Kenneth Kaunda and Dr Julius Nyerere, enjoy the reputation of eminent world statesmen, the official press spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Mirko Kalezic, said in a statement to TANJUG today.

The Yugoslav official expressed the confidence that the visits to the two countries, with which Yugoslavia maintains traditionally good and close relations, will give fresh impulses to the deepening and widening of mutual cooperation. The forthcoming exchanges of views are expected to focus on further activities of the non-aligned countries in implementing the decisions of their recent ministerial conference in New Delhi, which has offered fresh proofs of the vitality and independence of non-aligned policy and expanded the possibilities of its action. This is highly important to countries in Africa, on whose soil the ambitions of non-African factors are now clashing.

The liquidation of colonialism and the obtaining of independence of Namibia constitute one of the most important tasks at present, said the spokesman. Zambia and Tanzania, as "front line" countries, the same as Yugoslavia and other non-aligned countries, extend significant assistance to the liberation movements and peoples in the south of Africa in their struggle against colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs spokesman said. For Yugoslavia, this is a matter of principle, he specified. Yugoslavia supports a more determined commitment by all of the international community to the solving of acute problems of the south of Africa, Ambassador Kalezic said.

Mijatovic's visits will be the dialogues [as received] with important partners in the world of non-alignment, and they are to reassert the continuity of and interest in the strengthening of Yugoslavia's traditional friendship with Zambia and Tanzania, the Foreign Secretariat official spokesman concluded.